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(1996) 'No Entry Signs: Educational Change and Some Problems Encountered in Negotiating Entry to Educational Settings', *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp.71-88.

(1996) 'The Rise of the New Professionals: The Restructuring of Primary Teachers' Work and Professionalism', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 473-487.

(1996) 'Stepping' Into the Future: New Forms of Organisation in the Primary School', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 11, No.5, pp. 611-624.

(1997) 'Self-management and School Inspection: Complementary Forms of Surveillance and Control in the Primary School', *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 345-364.

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ABSTRACT

Whatever the exact form the restructuring of education systems takes, it means a fundamental re-definition of the work of teaching. In the restructuring process not only does the nature of work change but also school organisation and teacher culture. This study seeks to understand the teachers' experience of work in the restructured school. Restructuring is considered at three levels: 1) a cross-national and educational system macro-level; 2) a school organisation meso-level; and 3) an interpersonal and personal micro-level. The prime orientation is to explore the impact of a range of restructuring policies in these various sites and to describe and analyse the changes which have taken place in teachers' work. This is done through the use of qualitative data which are derived from original ethnographic research in a primary school. The aim here, using an interpretive approach, is to understand the effects of restructuring through the experiences and perspectives of the headteacher and teachers and to discover the meanings which they hold for the changes. These, it is argued, are of significance for the teachers' sense of self and their experience of roles. The social processes attending the restructuring of teachers' work are viewed through three analytical frameworks - symbolic interactionist theory, intensification theory and policy trajectory theory. The data generated facilitated the 'grounding' of the policy process and provided a test in new circumstances for the intensification thesis. The study concludes that the implementation of policy did not involve a simple linear and mechanical process. Policy was implemented according to actors' interpretations and motivations and resistance, as much as compliance, was a feature of the teachers' responses. With respect to theories of deprofessionalisation and intensification it was found that while many aspects of the teachers' work were contributing to intensification, the experience of intensified work was, in some cases, resulting in the teachers experiencing enhanced professionalism rather than becoming deprofessionalised.

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INTRODUCTION

The research on which this study is based is motivated by a desire to understand educational and social change. In the context of the United Kingdom education system, restructuring has been under way since the late 1970s but has gained massive impetus through the Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA). Restructuring is a response to perceived educational inadequacies for the modern world. As teachers had been blamed for many of the problems in education it seemed clear that restructuring would have major implications for teachers' work and their workplace (Dale, 1989). Policy prescriptions since the 1970s have consistently had teachers as their focus for change. Recent policies have redefined and reworked teachers and teaching (Seddon, 1991). The new roles and responsibilities teachers are having to take up go well beyond classroom teaching (Webb and Vulliamy, 1996). The reforms seem, to some, to be geared to producing efficient classroom technicians who are capable of 'delivering' the pre-packaged curriculum and tests (Apple, 1986). Not only are teachers and teaching set to change but also teachers' work cultures. Advocates of restructuring aim to 'reculture' schools as workplaces through the introduction of new ways of managing teachers and the installation of work cultures likely to lead to successful implementation of the reforms (D. Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1991). While some see the changes as offering new challenges and opportunities leading to enhanced professionalism and the improvement of schooling (D. Hargreaves, 1994), others view them as promising to deskill and disempower teachers (Menter et al. 1997)

However, teacher responses cannot be merely read off from the restructuring policies themselves (Ball, 1994). Teachers in the past have proved to be extremely resistant to imposed change. They have, for instance, deflected and subverted policies rather than implementing them unproblematically (Simons, 1988). On the evidence of other empirical studies of the impact of innovation on teachers, patterns of implementation can be expected to be varied and complex (Bowe et al. 1992; Pollard et al. 1994; Grace, 1995). The changes have to be mediated through the teachers' professional ideologies (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1988) and in the context of their existing work cultures (Mac an Ghaill, 1992). Although the

changes are, in the main, legislated, teachers may still have room for 'negotiating' them at school level. How these negotiations are played out is a focus of the study.

My interest in this area of enquiry arose from my experience of work as a teacher and researcher, and developments in the study of teachers' work. I deal with each in turn.

Biography

When I entered teaching in 1968 I was not a committed teacher nor had a particularly strong commitment to education. I did not have a strong sense of mission (Nias, 1989) neither did I want to change the world by revolutionary means! (Hammersley, 1993a). Most of these things came later. Having failed the eleven plus, the early part of my secondary schooling was spent at a secondary modern school. Achieving some measure of academic success at this school enabled me to be transferred to the local grammar school where I took 'O' and 'A' level examinations in the space of four years. Having to study many subjects, some of which were completely new to me, in this short time-scale, resulted in my grades being too low to apply for university. Applying for teacher education enabled me to leave school at the same age as my peers, which seemed important at this time, and be able to enjoy a 'university type' education and life as a student. My first teaching post in a girl's secondary modern school in the North East made me aware, for the first time, despite my own experience, of the inequality of educational provision. Additionally, the messages of progressive education, I had received at college, stood in stark contrast to the formal authoritarian role I was expected to perform in my work in school. At the beginning of my second year of teaching at this school, I was suspended for two months for working to rule as part of industrial action by my trades union, which was in dispute with the LEA over the way in which the reorganisation of secondary education was being implemented (see Seifert (1987), for an account of this dispute). The reorganisation actually worked in my favour as I became Deputy Headteacher of Lower School, in a newly created 11-16 years comprehensive school in the authority. My expectations of change were high. I espoused principles of egalitarianism and social justice and tried to incorporate them in my pastoral and

teaching work. However, the school was dominated by the traditional subject-based academic curriculum (A. Hargreaves, 1987) and I met opposition from many colleagues. At this time some of the teachers were leaving teaching because the careers they had been developing in the secondary modern school were 'spoilt' (Woods, 1983, p.161) by comprehensive reorganisation (Riseborough, 1981). A number of teachers left the school after experiencing stress following reorganisation, and began careers in new occupations. At this time, while doing a part-time BEd, I discovered the 'new sociology of education'. The impact this had on me was considerable. From interpretive theory and research I found that since reality was a social construction, it was within teachers' powers to initiate change at school level (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; D. Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970; Willis, 1977). However, from the Marxist branch of the new sub-discipline I learnt of societal factors, with their origins in the capitalist mode of production, which severely constrained the actions of teachers and pupils and 'determined' educational and social outcomes (Young, 1971; Young and Whitty, 1977). Thus, I became aware of not only the 'possibilities' of schooling but also its 'limits' (Whitty, 1985; Dale, 1989). Inspired by interactionist work on sociological processes of schooling (Woods, 1979) I undertook an interactionist study of a subject option scheme at my school which I hoped would lead to liberal reform of the way pupils were allocated to subject sets. In this research, although being interested in the micro I tried to be aware of explanations beyond the school for what I was describing and analysing in it. Frustrated with battling against some of my colleagues and the examination 'sausage machine', I moved to a sector where I thought educational change was possible, a middle school. I thought such schools would be like large primary schools, but quickly found out that the one in which I was working was more like a small secondary school in organisation and ethos. The school was dominated by ideologies derived from the elementary tradition of schooling rather than the developmental/progressive which I sought (A. Hargreaves, 1986). I continued with my attempts at 'radical' curriculum development, though meeting more opposition. I also started a further research project at the school, supervised by two leading interactionist researchers, Peter Woods and Andy Hargreaves. Now the focus of my research was on the social processes attending the allocation of pupils to subject sets and was, largely, concerned with teacher typifications. Again the theoretical

framework was symbolic interactionism and my intention was to understand more about the everyday world of teaching and the school. My work and research was punctuated by phases of industrial action throughout the mid-1980s. At this time, the trades unions were in dispute concerning the changing nature of teachers' work and increasing managerialism in education. Towards the end of the 1980s under new leadership at LEA level (new director) and at school level (new headteacher), change was beginning with the introduction of more egalitarian school organisation and child-centred pedagogies. The year following the introduction of the National Curriculum, I left the middle school not particularly because I wanted to escape its introduction or because I was opposed in principle, but because I wanted to work with intending and practising teachers. As a lecturer in education policy studies I felt that I could help teachers to analyse and 'decode' official policy and discuss issues surrounding its implementation. This would involve a critical appraisal of policy rather than instructing teachers how to implement it. The philosophies underpinning this approach were reflective teaching and research based teacher development. However, official policy moves, which removed much of teacher education from institutions of higher education, and a policy climate in which critical reflection for teachers was not encouraged, ensured that I could not continue with this work.

My current research, therefore, has arisen from my interest in and experience of the impact of official policy on teachers' work; educational change; teacher perspectives; the politics of education; school micro-political processes; and interactionist research.

Teachers' Work

The study of teachers' work is currently becoming an important field of enquiry in social science research. This study aims to contribute to the small body of sociological research on primary teachers' and their work. Some argue that previous research, in concentrating solely on issues of professionalism, has 'muted the consideration of the teacher's work as work, rather than as vocation, and has not encouraged close study of the conditions of the workplace' (Lawn and Grace, 1987, p. viii.). Some previous research has viewed teachers

as oversocialized agents of the capitalist state (for example Bowles and Gintis, 1976). I aim, therefore, to

emphasise the subjective conscious responses of teachers to the objective conditions which shape their work. This genre of work...focuses on resistance, struggle and the impact that teachers themselves can have on the activities of their employers (for example Lawn, 1988). In other words teachers are not the passive dupes of classical Marxism, unwittingly co-opted as agents of the state: they are active agents resisting state control strategies and forcing their employers to refine and rework those strategies.

(Gewirtz, 1996, p.3)

This will involve an in-depth account of teachers' work based on data derived from a qualitative case study of a primary school. Recent studies of teachers' working hours (Campbell and Neill, 1994a and 1994b), and perspectives (Pollard et al. 1994), have used large scale surveys complemented by qualitative techniques. Other studies have used interactionist ethnographic techniques, to provide in-depth accounts of teacher responses to change and control and to theorise the changes (Woods, 1995a; Woods and Jeffrey, 1996b). However, neither type of study aims to research social processes which attend restructuring and reculturing. Organisational and cultural change scarcely feature. Even those studies which aim to link in-depth work with analyses of the state, and contemporary developments in public and private sector work, are inadequately grounded and eschew a serious treatment of such important areas as school micro-politics (see Menter et al. 1997). This is a gap in our knowledge of primary schooling which this current study aims to fill.

Therefore, despite a growing body of work on primary teaching we still know relatively little about certain aspects of primary teachers' work and workplace since the introduction of policies aimed to change them. This study, therefore, aims to chart the impact of a complex array of restructuring policies on the work and work cultures of teachers. I wanted to

discover how teachers were adapting to the new roles and responsibilities which had been defined in policy. It is one thing to prescribe roles but what happens in practice is a matter for empirical enquiry. The emphasis here is on teachers making rather than taking roles (Turner, 1962; Plummer, 1975).

The chosen methodology of interactionist ethnography was vital for approaching these issues. The choice of method was influenced by the research question itself and by my previous researches with teachers, using ethnographic techniques. In the role of participant observer I was able to gain access to the meanings of the participants, penetrate various layers of reality in the school and discern patterns of interaction. Interactionism gives insights into teachers' selves. It helps us to see 'how less than perfect teacher actions are, in fact, rational strategic responses to everyday, yet often overwhelming constraints in teachers' workplaces' (A. Hargreaves, 1995, p.3). Interactionism indicates the importance of teacher cultures which 'develop in response to commonly faced problems' (ibid.).

The research, however, does not merely provide a description of the school and its social processes. The study has wider theoretical implications. Links are made with research in other areas through comparative analysis. So, for example, insights are derived from work in teacher professionalism, teacher development, the sociologies of work and organisation and policy sociology. I have also tried to bring together the macro world of policy text production and the meso and micro levels of the school. In such a way connections are sought between structural and situational factors which are impacting on teachers. These have never been easy to make. Now, owing to legislated initiatives to bring education more in line with economic imperatives, the lines of control, from centre to periphery, are much more visible. The view I take in the research, therefore, is to see 'restructuring as a social rather than individual phenomenon, although it is experienced individually and often interpreted as individual troubles' (Seddon, 1991, p. 19; Mills, 1959). Therefore, the restructuring of teachers' work can be seen as part of a 'much broader social reconstruction' (Seddon, 1991, p.19). It is through the study of policy and its implementation that I seek to develop these micro-macro links. The aspect of the research which deals with organisational

and cultural change in the school is particularly important here. It is argued that studies of micro-politics at the meso level has the capacity of forming micro-macro links (Blase, 1991; Ball, 1994). I consider this study to be an example of what Grace (1995) refers to as policy scholarship. This has

a commitment to locate the matter under investigation in its historical, theoretical, cultural and socio-political setting and a commitment to integrate these wider relational features with contemporary fieldwork data.

(ibid. p3)

The research also provided the opportunity for me to test a prominent current theory of educational change, the intensification thesis, in new circumstances.

Overview of the Chapters

In chapter 1 I examine the political, economic and cultural context which gives rise to restructuring policies. There is a growth in neo-liberal societies for restructuring education systems in order to respond to charges of falling educational standards and reduced economic effectiveness in the world economy. The arguments of the restructurers are presented and their policies for changing teachers' work, school organisation and teacher roles. Teachers' work culture has been held to be outmoded and has 'hitherto been one of the most intransigent features of school life' (Woods et al. 1997, p5). Restructuring is associated with intensification by some writers. The literature on the impact of reform on teachers is considered. There are those who argue that teachers are being deskilled by their intensified work, while others, viewing the changes more positively, see them as enskilling. Yet others argue that both processes may be occurring simultaneously. Restructuring has involved a state reworking of official definitions of the 'good' teacher. Following this analysis I provide further contextualisation by providing an analysis of policy since 1978 on teachers and their work. This policy has constructed 'good teachers' with the emphasis no

longer in terms of personal qualities, as previously, but by the tight specification of technical competences. The teachers' role and professionalism is increasingly defined in terms of collaboration, subject specialist expertise, assessment skills and managerial tasks. The intention behind this redefinition of teaching seems to be to produce a new type of professional who is collaborative, responsive and flexible (Menter et al. 1997). I argue that the 'good teacher', in the official view, is now the teacher/manager.

In chapter 2, I provide a reflexive account of the research methods employed in the research. This involves a methodological discussion of the interrelation of research design, methods and theory. The research process is described and issues of validity and ethics raised.

It is one thing to have prescriptive policies for teachers' work but how are the new roles being installed in the context of the school? Chapter 3 is organised in two parts. Part 1 draws on data from the case-study school and looks at the Headteacher's strategies to restructure the teachers' work and the organisation of the school and also to reconstitute the teachers' work culture. In introducing collaborative working he uses micro-political strategies. The use of these in the changed managerial culture has the effect of alienating some teachers, while others accommodated to most of the changes although contesting management definitions of work and professionalism. Part 2 looks at the Headteacher's attempts to formalise a collaborative culture in order to spread the expertise of the subject co-ordinators throughout the school. The imposed, and contrived, collaboration works against a teacher culture of informal collaboration.

Restructuring has involved the apparently contradictory measures of, on the one hand, increased centralisation of policy making and control of the education system by the state; and on the other, devolving budgets and increased powers of governance to heads and governors. These initiatives, I argue, have a major impact on teachers' work. In chapter 4, I describe two interrelated forms of control of teachers' work. I make the case that direct control and the policing of the new work roles were achieved by school inspection. An

indirect, hidden form of control was brought about through systems of self-management such as school development planning. The inspectors and their recommendations proved to be a pervasive influence on the school, and this impacted negatively on teacher autonomy and encouraged a culture of compliance which distracted the teachers from pursuing school policies which seemed more likely to yield school improvement. Additionally, self-management systems recreate hierarchy in the school, thus contributing to intensification by separating management and teachers. Managerialism, I argue, was stimulated and the informal work culture of collaboration was eroded.

In chapter 5, I examine the teachers' experience of their restructured roles and intensified work. The chapter is in three parts. In Part 1, the intensification thesis is examined, in a new context, using data on the teachers' perceptions of their changed work. I argue that propositions derived from intensification theory are ambiguous. In the context of the case study school, I make the case that while aspects of the teachers' work are potentially deskilling, many other elements are enhancing the teachers' professionalism. Further, the teachers coped creatively with their new work and work roles. In a work culture of conscientiousness the teachers went beyond official work expectations and demonstrated strong professional commitment to the children. The intensification thesis' explanatory capacity is questioned. For some teachers, the new role of subject manager provided a source of tension. In a detailed case study in part 2, a subject co-ordinator's perspective on her managerial work is analysed. The role of teacher/manager was viewed with ambivalence as she found professional enhancement with some aspects of the role, while others did not articulate with her ideology of professionalism. Some writers argue that intensification brings a separation between teachers and managers (Ball, 1994). With this co-ordinator, the division and tension was taking place within her subjective consciousness. Headteachers, too, will be likely to experience intensification of work and tensions in their restructured role. In the literature on school leadership, this is explained as a tension between the headteacher's role as 'chief executive' and that of 'leading professional' (Hughes, 1973). In part 3, I examine the diverse role of the headteacher of the case study school. He managed

diversity and negotiated his way round dilemmas and tensions, while experiencing enhancement from his new role.

I conclude, in chapter 6, by using the analysed data in order to further interrogate the intensification thesis. Additionally, I argue that the study contributes to an understanding of the policy process. Some limitations of the research are discussed, directions for future research on restructuring are indicated and some policy implications raised.

CHAPTER ONE

The Restructuring of Primary Teachers' Work

I consider here the concept of restructuring and the general historical, political and educational context in which it has been taking place; I then analyse the official restructuring of the primary teacher's role.

The Context of Restructuring

Schools, together with many other institutions in society, are undergoing radical change, in a process that has come to be known as 'restructuring'. Restructuring is a current international phenomenon in developed economies. Basically, it is a response to the globalization of capital and communications, the rapid growth of information and technological developments, changed modes of economic production, economic crisis and increasing moral and scientific uncertainty (Harvey, 1990; A. Hargreaves, 1994a). With regard to education, Lawton (1992) argues that government legislation for restructuring is motivated variously by:

- A crisis in legitimation: In advanced capitalist economies, there is public doubt that educational systems can carry out their job adequately (Habermas, 1976).
- Concern about effectiveness: The labour and economic problems of the early 1980s and high levels of youth unemployment suggested that educational systems were providing neither an adequate nor relevant education. Studies showing declining test scores in international league tables stimulated concern that some western economies were not developing human capital.
- Concern about efficiency: There was increasing evidence that investing more money in education does not necessarily increase educational standards or increase the gross national product.

- The managerial revolution: The 'traditional bureaucracy with its emphasis on centralised decision-making, control, uniformity, close supervision and commitment to standard operating procedures' (Lawton, 1992, p. 145) is associated with inefficiency. The key to improvement is seen to be the application of more management and management systems. Rather than bureaucratic, the new manager is the autonomous and entrepreneurial school-based leader.
- A populist movement: There is a groundswell of popular support for ideas concerning parents having a greater control over, and choice in, the education of their children. Parents as consumers are seeking the best buy in education. Parent power is in the ascendent (Dale, 1989).
- A crisis in capitalism: Western democracies are currently facing an accumulation crisis. Drives for profitability involve an emphasis on the public sector using resources efficiently and effectively in the context of cuts in public finance and expenditure.
- Provider capture: Professions such as medicine, teaching and the law have hitherto enjoyed a relatively large measure of professional autonomy and control. Critics argue that the sole providers of a service, such as teachers, accrue more benefits than their customers. Restructuring aims to redistribute benefits from the provider to the client.

The societies in which restructuring is taking place have all experienced economic recession and become increasingly uncompetitive in international markets since the oil crisis of 1973. Educational systems and teachers have been held to be the cause of economic failure by not producing a workforce with the appropriate skills for a rapidly changing world (Weinstock, 1976). The failure of less radical attempts to reform schools has induced despair. Rudduck, (1991, p.28) has argued that, 'the tight weave of traditions and routines, combined with the loose coupling of their internal communication systems, can make schools almost as impermeable as a fortress'. The situation, therefore, seemed to call for radical action.

Restructuring in the United Kingdom

Restructuring in the UK has been characterised by the contradictory processes of decentralisation and centralisation.

Decentralisation has involved the marketisation of schooling (Ball, 1994). By the ERA, which instituted the Local Management of Schools (LMS), schools have become independent budget holders. Their funding is linked to the number and ages of pupils on roll. The ability of parents, in theory, to choose the school their children will attend renders schools subject to market pressures. Parents are expected to choose the 'best' schools, thus encouraging all to improve educational standards. It is thought, too, in the light of the failure of central reform movements, that schools have greater capacity to improve themselves. The argument is that giving teachers the autonomy to exercise professional judgement in the management of finance, resources, curriculum and pedagogy, increases the prospect of reforms paying off in terms of improved teaching and learning (A. Hargreaves, 1994b). Such reforms have been introduced in a period of economic retrenchment, with schools being forced to consider their economy, efficiency and effectiveness (Audit Commission, 1984).

Such measures, it is argued, will liberate schools from the bureaucratic grip and ideological meddling of local education authorities (LEAs) (Ball, 1994). Giving funds directly to headteachers and governors would release entrepreneurial initiative which, again, would fuel a rise in educational standards (Grace, 1995). In the neo-liberal discourse of marketisation, smart schools produce a smart workforce. Legislated changes for increasing school autonomy in the way described, and creating an education market, have been vigorously promoted in the United States by internationally influential writers inspired by the moves to local financial management in the UK (see Chubb and Moe, 1992). They advocate the removal of schooling from central and local state interference in order to make schools responsive to the market and thereby increase educational output in the form of high test scores. Public choice theorists, such as Chubb and Moe (1992) and Tooley (1993), see

unrestructured schools as bureaucratic and in need of incentives and choice. Bureaucracy is considered to be the enemy of quality in education and the most effective schools are the ones where the 'handcuffs have been taken off the administrators' (Boyd, 1996) so that they can manage the autonomous school more efficiently and devise their own vision, while responding to the choices that parents make in the schooling of their children.

At the same time as these decentralisation measures, however, the government, through the ERA, has instituted a large amount of centralization through a mandated National Curriculum and system of testing. Published test scores aim to provide a basis for both parental choice of school and school accountability to the community. Four-yearly inspections by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) provide public accountability. The work of teaching is increasingly codified in the OFSTED criteria (1993 and 1995), and therefore easier to assess and grade by the inspectors. Teaching methods are coming increasingly under scrutiny, with pressure on teachers to adopt a more traditional style congruent with one supported by the state (Clarke, 1991; DES, 1992).

Restructuring does not have to take this form. In the USA, for instance, restructuring has been largely a response to removing the bureaucracy and political interference of the municipal state, and faith in teachers to implement reform has been retained. There has been a 'resurgence in and respect for the dignity, quality and sophistication of teachers' practical knowledge and judgement' (A. Hargreaves and Dawe, 1989, pp.4-5). Restructuring as recommended by groups such as the US Carnegie Forum on 'Education and the Economy' would 'respect and support the professionalism of teachers to make decisions in their own classrooms that best met local and state goals while holding teachers accountable for how they did that' (A. Hargreaves 1994a p.241). Murphy and Evertson (1991) suggest components of restructuring which include: school-based management; increased consumer choice; teacher empowerment; and teaching for understanding. The National Governors' Association (1989) recommend that 'curriculum and instruction be redesigned to promote higher order thinking skills and the decentralization of authority and decision-making to site

level, more diverse and differentiated roles for teachers and broader systems of accountability' (cited in A. Hargreaves, 1994a, p.241).

By contrast with these basically teacher empowering developments, teachers in the UK have been excluded from the partnership for policy making created in the post-war social-democratic settlement (Lawn, 1995). Their participation in curriculum and assessment policy making has been restricted to a number of token consultation exercises (Haviland, 1988). Indeed, Bash and Coulby (1989) argue that many of the restructuring reforms seem based on a deep distrust of teachers, and Ball (1990a) identifies a 'discourse of derision' being constructed about teachers by New Right think tanks, media and politicians. 'Progressivism' in teaching and initial teacher education (Lawlor, 1990) and 'trendy teachers' have been the targets of ridicule since the Black Papers of the late 1960s. From this viewpoint, teachers are seen as the cause, rather than the solution to educational crisis (Ball, 1990a). Teachers have received a 'bashing', too, from academics who see them as witting or unwitting agents of capital and instrumental in reproducing the inequalities of capitalism (Mac an Ghaill, 1996a). These attacks have been accompanied by official support for a return to 'traditional' teaching and 'real' schooling (Boyd, 1996). This has seen the introduction of a subjects based National Curriculum, and repeated calls for increases in whole-class teaching and ability grouping, in the form of streaming or setting (Clarke, 1991; DES, 1992a).

The Idea of the Restructured School

System wide changes are intended to stimulate the transformation of the internal organisation and culture of the school. The restructured school is seen by some as the self-managing, autonomous or empowered school (Caldwell and Spinks, 1988; D. Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1991). Market forces emphasize the role of headteachers as business leaders while retaining their traditional responsibility for educational management. Traditional primary school leadership has been criticised for supporting hierarchical structures, and for slowness in responding to change (Alexander, 1992). In the role of entrepreneurial leader, headteachers can respond creatively and flexibly to rapid changes in the external environment

of the school. They direct and manage human and material resources in order to maximise pupils' learning. Faith in management to organise restructuring of the institution, to devise technically based solutions and implement radical reforms has been central to many of the recent changes. There is a moral ascendancy of managerialism (Inglis, 1989, Walker and Barton, 1987). Consequently, the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) now sponsors headteacher training for headteachers and intending headteachers, and the Teacher Training Agency is developing a national curriculum for headteacher development, and tests, leading to the national qualification for headship (Haigh, 1995).

While the government seem to encourage a top-down management style, other supporters of the self-managing school see the headteacher operating as team leader in flattened management hierarchies. Leadership using these structures is in the mould of Human Resource Management (HRM) and Total Quality Management with their associated quality assurance systems (Menter et al. 1995a). HRM, for instance, 'harnesses the occupational/organizational culture to the delivery of efficiency and quality (Menter et al. 1995a, p.6). Rational planning is to the fore, headteacher 'vision' is embodied in the prime management tool of the school development plan (SDP). In this new managerialist discourse, managers are to be leaders of 'vision'. Advocates of this view (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Purkey and Smith, 1985) claim that they should have, 'the capacity to articulate and win commitment to a vision for the school and ensure that vision is internalised in the structures, processes and procedures which shape everyday activity'. (Angus, 1994, p.21)

Reculturing

Thus, the management of consent and collaboration is a key role for leaders of self-managing schools. Schools are urged to become 'more like businesses' (Coopers and Lybrand, 1988), and postindustrial businesses have flattened hierarchies in which all workers are 'empowered' to participate in management. In their idea of the 'empowered school', D. Hargreaves and Hopkins, (1991, p.15) argue that 'management is about

people. Management arrangements are what empower people. Empowerment, in short, is the purpose of management'. They see management in an holistic sense with teachers, headteachers, parents and governors engaged in a type of collaborative management which often requires 'a change of school culture' (ibid. p.17). Previously the primary school had been criticised because of its culture of individualism which impeded innovation (D. Hargreaves, 1994). Class teachers operating individually and in isolation in their classrooms were seen to be badly placed to respond creatively to change (Alexander, 1984). Fullan's (1988) answer to school and teacher development lies in 'cracking the walls of privatism'. However, as Fullan (1991, p.114) observes, 'Changing structures is easier to bring about than changes in values, beliefs, behaviour and other normative and cultural changes'. These changes, therefore, need support. Following Werner (1982), A. Hargreaves (1994a, p. 255) describes 'support strategies' for reculturing, which: create release time so teachers work together; assist them in collaborative planning; encourage teachers to try a new experience, a new practice or grade level; involve teachers in goal setting; and create a culture of collaboration, risk and improvement.

Reculturing, it is claimed, is likely to be better at changing classroom practice than 'quick cultural fixes' (ibid. p.256). The form of organisational structure and culture known as the 'moving mosaic' promises to 'foster vigorous, dynamic and shifting forms of collaboration through networks, partnerships and alliances within and beyond the school' (ibid. p.257). However, reculturing in its negative form is merely a way of ' "managing " school cultures so that teachers cheerfully comply with structural goals and purposes already fixed by the bureaucratic center (sic)' (ibid. p. 256).

Central to reculturing is collaboration, which contrasts with the individualism of the old order (D. Hargreaves, 1994). New organisational structures and cultures require flexible and differentiated teachers to work in them (Lawn, 1995). They need to be able to work on their own, but also, increasingly, to work together. In the school improvement (Caldwell and Spinks, 1988; D. Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1991; D. Hargreaves, 1994) and teacher development literature, (Nias et al. 1989; Biott and Nias, 1992), there is a pronounced

emphasis on collaboration through which teachers develop new skills by sharing professional knowledge. This view is supported by a number of official policy documents (DES, 1992; OFSTED, 1994) and in the OFSTED criteria for inspection (OFSTED, 1995).

Intensification

Apple (1986) argues that, in late twentieth century capitalist societies, work intensifies as capital experiences an accumulation crisis and pressure for efficiency mounts in public and private sectors. Intensification leads to reduced time for relaxation and reskilling; causes chronic and persistent work overload; reduces quality of service; and separates the conceptualization from the execution of tasks, making teachers dependent on outside expertise and reducing them to technicians (A. Hargreaves, 1994a, pp. 118-9).

The introduction of new roles and responsibilities, and retraining teachers to 'deliver' a wider curriculum with a demanding assessment scheme (Campbell and Neill, 1994a) has contributed to intensification according to a number of researchers. Woods (1995a) notes that work overload has been accompanied by,

a loss of spontaneity and an increase in stress, the sense of 'fun' and caring human relationships has receded in some classrooms, quantification has replaced qualitative evaluation, and bureaucracy has burgeoned, some teachers feel that they have lost autonomy and control in the curriculum, and accountability has become a matter of threat.

(Woods, 1995a, p.4)

Some argue that teachers have been exploited in their attempts to implement the reforms. Campbell et al. 1991, for instance, argue that teachers have been caught in the 'trap of conscientiousness', 'doing their best to meet the prescribed targets but compromising the quality of learning and their own health' (quoted in Woods et al. 1997, p. 21)

Typically, the official answer is not to lighten the load, but to express concern that teachers are not working hard enough and to suggest lengthening the working day and week (OFSTED, 1994). These changes are taking place in the context of less favourable funding of primary, compared to secondary, schools (House of Commons, 1986) and continual annual financial cuts. These have resulted in increased class sizes (TES, 5/7/96a), teacher redundancies and a growth in the number of teachers being granted early retirement (Smithers, 1989). School closures and teacher dismissals are becoming more of a reality (TES, 5/7/96b). Note, however, that while most researchers agree that some intensification has taken place, not all agree that deprofessionalization is a necessary consequence, as I discuss later.

Changing Forms of Control of Teachers' Work

It has been argued that previous centre-periphery reforms which were intended to transform schools failed because the schools enjoyed a relative autonomy (Dale, 1989), allowing a large degree of slippage between central policy-making agencies and the schools where policy was implemented. Within schools, teachers also had a certain autonomy, and adapted innovations in line with their professional ideologies. This led some to refer to schools as 'organised anarchies' (March and Olson, 1976). Some thought this epitomized in the case of the William Tyndale Junior School. Prior to the mid 1970s, control of the education system 'rested on assumptions of shared values and norms, priorities and practices throughout the educational system rather than explicit rules' (Dale, 1989, p.126). However, teachers at William Tyndale in 1975 caused a scandal by seeking to institute their own brand of education. Dale (ibid.) describes the way the teachers used the control they enjoyed to introduce changes in the school:

At the economic level they were quite explicit in opposing the centrality of schools' human resource service to the economy. Their job was not to provide 'factory fodder'; they saw themselves as preparing human beings rather than human capital. They sought, too, to undermine the class structure as far as possible in their policies and practice, rather than reinforce it, which they saw as the inevitable outcome of schools' traditional sorting and selection function.

The teachers were eventually suspended and the school closed. The whole affair demonstrated that 'neither the school managers nor the parents, neither the politicians nor the officers of ILEA (Inner London Education Authority) appeared to be able to control what the teachers were doing' (ibid.). This was because teachers had a 'licensed autonomy', which was 'renewable upon the meeting of certain conditions. Just how those conditions were met was subject to broad limitations' (ibid. p.130). The Tyndale teachers had clearly pushed 'licensed autonomy' beyond its limits.

Following the public inquiry there was a 'political will' to 'clip the wings' of teachers and bring the system under closer control (ibid. p. 145). One of the lessons which had been learned was that 'schooling was too important to be left to teachers' (ibid. p.135). There followed a 'fundamental shift in the area of control from 'licensed autonomy' to...'regulated autonomy'(ibid. p. 132). Under the latter, control would become

tighter, largely through the codification and monitoring of processes and practices previously left to teachers' professional judgement, taken on trust or hallowed by tradition. This shift has come to be equated with the move to greater accountability.

(ibid.)

The codification and monitoring achieved through new accountability systems, Dale argues, changed the game teachers were expected to play from 'catch me if you can' to 'jumping through hoops' (ibid. p.143).

Prior to 1979, the state aimed to achieve control through schools' adherence to the curriculum aims and objectives of LEAs and general inspection by Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI). In reality, inspectors had an advisory rather than inspectorial role (Evans and Penney, 1994), and because of their comparatively small numbers, very few schools could be inspected. In the period following 1979, educational policy became increasingly concerned with the control of the system. These trends crystallised in the ERA and have underpinned policy since. Centralised educational policy now defines the work of teachers; exercises control over teacher training through the stipulation of teacher competences and the creation of a Teacher Training Agency; has legislated a National Curriculum and a standardised, national system of assessment, with regular inspection by the privatised inspectorate.

Control in the schools is exercised through management, considered by policy makers as the means of implementing the reforms in the schools, and also to act as a 'panacea for easing the tensions' (Ball, 1994) of restructuring. While managers are cast as the agents of change they can only fulfil this role by changing themselves. Thus, in the new order, headteachers retain their traditional powers (in fact they have increased considerably), but delegate some duties and responsibilities to senior management teams and curriculum co-ordinators. Despite these changes, the purpose of management, it is argued, remains the same - to gain teachers' commitment to change and motivation for work, while exercising control over them (Friedman, 1977; Grace, 1995). These functions of management were recognised by a former Secretary of State for Education when he acknowledged that, whilst control was necessary to 'ensure that standards throughout the country are brought up to the level of the best', the implementation of the reforms 'depend on the professional skills of teachers' (MacGregor, 1990, p.5).

While the radical reform of schooling has its advocates, it also has its critics (see Angus, 1994). A. Hargreaves, (1994a) for instance, notes that the discourses and practices of restructuring are sometimes employed to make top down reforms which are 'force-fed' to teachers 'slightly more palatable' (ibid. p.243). He is also alert to the fact that the 'very term, restructuring, has been adopted from the corporate context where it first emerged' (ibid.). There it had been a synonym for the 'management of recession and retrenchment' (ibid.). In schools it can be used by the 'most cynical proponents of restructuring as a euphemism for downsizing school staffing and resources and downgrading the services they can offer' (ibid.). Ball (1994) has argued that, despite the rhetoric of autonomy and empowerment, new systems of management are a powerful and pervasive way of controlling teachers' work, and that self-management is a form of covert 'indirect steering' by the state (Kickert 1991). Internal systems of monitoring, review and teacher appraisal, ostensibly devices to promote efficiency and standards, provide a self-policing mode of accountability. Such self-surveillance is more effective, too, because in this context 'resistance sets the dissenters against colleagues not policies' (Ball, 1994, p.54).

Smyth (1991) notes the paradox in a situation where teachers are being urged to work collegially at the same time that educational decision-making is increasingly centralised. Smyth (ibid. p. 324) concludes that the culture of collegiality, almost mandatory in the self-managing school, is 'part of a broader strategy to harness teachers more effectively to the work of economic reconstruction'. Since teachers are no longer required by the state to engage in professional debates concerning the ends of education, but are merely expected to implement the plans of others, collegial work can be considered as a form of 'indirect rule' by the state (Ozga and Lawn , 1988). Thus, by this argument, teachers come to collaborate in their own oppression.

Restructuring the Primary Teacher's Role

Models of the 'Good' Teacher: Defining and Redefining Teacher Quality

Over the past decade there has been a rapid and major restructuring of teachers' work in the primary school (Lawn, 1988; Pollard et al. 1994; Woods, 1995a). This has received especial impetus since 1988 through central government initiatives which have introduced a mandated curriculum and assessment while also radically changing the funding and governance of schools. Being a teacher in the mid 1990s increasingly involves work which lies beyond the classroom (Campbell et al. 1992). It takes the forms of planning, administration, and supervision of colleagues' work, and of involvement in the external relations of marketing and work in and with the community. As workloads increase, intensification is experienced by teachers and the pressures of work erode time for reflection and leisure (Apple, 1986; A. Hargreaves, 1994a). With this have come new conceptions of what 'good teaching' constitutes.

I shall trace developments in official policy on the primary school and in constructions of the 'good teacher' (Grace, 1985; Broadhead, 1987; Lawn, 1991; Woods, 1996a) from the 1978 Primary Survey, through policies of the early and mid 1980s, to policies of the early 1990s. I will suggest that during these three phases of policy development there has been continuity in the main policy themes relating to the personal and pedagogic attributes of the official version of the 'good' teacher. Changes, however, are evidenced in the greatly increased emphasis which is being placed upon the technical competences that facilitate the administrative and management aspects of the primary teacher's work. This changing emphasis constitutes a redefinition of the primary teacher's role in order to act as the main agent in the implementation of the restructured work of the National Curriculum, assessment and testing arrangements. I begin with the influential 1978 primary survey.

'Good Teaching' in 1978

The impact which the document 'Primary Education in England' (HMI, 1978) had on education policy and official constructions of teacher quality and the 'good' teacher was considerable. Lee and Fitz (1994) have argued that it was the policy progenitor of a National Curriculum. From a survey of 542 schools in England, HMI noted that there were inconsistencies in curriculum coverage and an unacceptable variation in the 'quality' of teaching and the 'standards' which were being achieved by the schools (Richards, 1987). Of all the factors HMI found to be associated with high standards they viewed three as being particularly significant - high levels of matching, good differentiation and the subject expertise of the teacher. Match is defined by HMI as the 'relationship between the standard of work children in the group were doing and that which they were considered by HMI to be capable of doing in each subject' (p. 80, para. 6.2). The closely related concept of differentiation is not defined by HMI, but seems to refer to teachers meeting the needs of the full ability range by 'providing children with learning experiences which take due account of their varying characteristics and yet which are guided by a common set of principles' (Richards, 1987, p.191). Teachers' subject expertise refers to their knowledge, qualifications and teaching experience in a curriculum subject and the quality of their teaching of that subject. HMI claimed these three factors interrelated in the production of high levels of match and superior pupil achievement in some areas of the primary curriculum (HMI 1978, p.96, para. 7.34).

These findings led HMI to advocate posts of special responsibility for subjects. Educational standards in the primary school were to be raised through improving match through subject teaching, raising teachers' subject knowledge and making individual subject specialist knowledge available to colleagues. The teachers with special curricular responsibilities were to work with headteachers and be responsible for: curriculum coverage in the school; producing programmes of work in terms of subjects; and being able to use appropriate pedagogic strategies to help children learn the subjects (HMI, 1978, p.36, para. 4.1)

In stressing the importance of the teachers with special curricular responsibility, HMI were not merely endorsing the views expressed in the Plowden Report (CACE, 1967) and Bullock Report (DES, 1975) or anticipating a main finding of the Cockcroft Report (DES, 1982). They seemed to be going beyond them (see Webb, 1994). This is evident in their stance towards the generalist class teacher system, for, while seeing its benefits (pp. 117-118), HMI favoured an organisation in which subject specialists teach their specialism and pass on their expertise to colleagues (p. 118). This system is necessary, they claim owing to the demands of a broad subject-based curriculum. They also see it involving the whole staff:

...where the staff is eight or more strong, it may be possible to provide the necessary range and level of specialisation from within the staff, especially if this requirement is taken into account when teaching appointments are made.

(HMI 1978, p119, para. 8.48)

The posts of special responsibility quite often did not involve increased salaries, status or even the allocation of non-contact time in which to complete the non-teaching managerial and administrative aspects of the role. HMI, while not problematising the financing of primary education and its traditionally poor funding by comparison with secondary schools, advocated schools being flexible in experimenting in ways (including curriculum led staffing policies) that would release post holders from their classes to work with colleagues.

The authors of the primary survey, in suggesting that all teachers could and should have some curriculum responsibility created an image of the 'good' teacher which conforms closely to their description of the subject specialist post holder (see Campbell, 1990, p.122). The model of the 'good' teacher which emerges is one which possesses the personal characteristics which will facilitate the teacher in not only engaging in a more precise pedagogy involving concepts and procedures such as 'match', 'differentiation' and knowledge of children's learning but who will also be capable of writing programmes of study, sharing subject expertise with colleagues, working co-operatively with them and taking some responsibility for their training and supervision.

The Development of the 'Good Teacher' in the 1980s

In the aftermath of the primary survey further policy prescriptions constructed further images of the 'good' teacher, each strongly influenced by ideas of teacher quality and 'good' practice which seem derived from the 1978 survey report. What views, then, did the policy documents present? I shall concentrate on two of the more important.

'Teaching Quality'

'Teaching Quality' (DES, 1983), a White Paper on teacher training, continued with the promotion of the view of the 'good' teacher which originated in the 1978 Survey. It focussed strongly on issues surrounding match, subject specialism and teacher quality. 'Teaching Quality' took HMI's claims about the positive relationship between subject specialism, match and higher pupil achievement in order to mount an argument that standards could be increased by matching the training of intending teachers to the work they would do (DES, 1983, pp.8-12). This meant that, in the official view, the 'good' primary teacher would be a subject specialist who had a sound preparation in that subject either as an undergraduate or in initial teacher training. This recommendation was later incorporated in criteria for teacher education which stipulated which degree subjects were relevant to the primary curriculum and expanded the time allocation devoted to subject study in PGCE and BEd courses (DES, 1984). 'Teaching Quality' quoted HMI's 'The New Teacher in School' (HMI, 1982) to state that they,

found that the personal qualities of the teachers were in many cases the decisive factor in their effectiveness.

However, they returned to and reinforced their message on match, both in the sense of match between teachers' subject knowledge with subject taught and with the match of task to the child. In inspections, HMI had found that in 'a quarter of primary school lessons seen teachers showed signs of insecurity in the subject being taught' and consequently this had an

adverse effect on children's learning (DES, 1983, p.8 para. 27). In 'Teaching Quality' the 'good' teacher is constructed as follows:

Good teachers need to have a mastery of the subject knowledge they teach and the professional skills needed to teach it to children of different ages, abilities, aptitudes and backgrounds. But they also need those skills which are necessary for the effective performance of their role outside the classroom in the social and corporate life of the school, and in relationship to parents and the community.

(ibid. para.23)

The White Paper recognised the complexity of the primary teacher's role and, like the 1978 Survey, recommended the expansion of the subject specialist consultant role as a solution to the implementation of a broad curriculum:

The Government believe that all primary teachers should be equipped to take a particular responsibility for one aspect of the curriculum (such as Science, Mathematics or Music), to act as a consultant to their colleagues on that aspect and, where appropriate, to teach it to classes other than their own..

(ibid. p.10, para. 33)

These recommendations of course referred to the academic and professional preparation of intending teachers. The authors did recognise, however, that there would be teachers already employed in schools who may be incapable (owing to their personal qualities or initial training) of adapting to new demands and a rapidly changing scene of restructured work. The employers who were charged with the introduction of the radical changes were alerted to the importance of recruitment and the 'need to inject new blood' (ibid. p.24, para. 78) into the system. The 'good' teachers were to have the traditional skills and qualities of the primary teacher but also subject specialist and management potential to act as curriculum leaders in 'specialised roles'.

However, it was recommended that, where, despite in-service training arrangements, teachers failed to maintain a satisfactory level of performance, employers must, in the interest of the pupils, 'use procedures for dismissal' (ibid. p.25, para, 81). Here we have the policy implications of a model placing the emphasis on personal qualities, as opposed, for example, to competing explanations of variance in educational standards, such as the physical, economic and social context of teachers' work. Whereas the latter may have resource implications, the guarantor of 'good teaching' in the former becomes selection, training, and, where those measures have not worked, dismissal - a convenient strategy in a period of rapid changing work practices and falling rolls (see A. Hargreaves, 1989; Woods, 1990).

'Better Schools'

The White Paper, 'Better Schools' (DES, 1985), was concerned with improving the quality of education, raising standards and getting the most from the resources which were put into schools. It sought to bring clarity to curriculum objectives (expressed as subjects), improve the effectiveness of assessment (to improve match), improve the effectiveness of teachers and the management of the teaching force, and to reform the governance of schools by increasing the involvement of parents and governors (ibid.). Evidence was provided to indicate that three quarters of primary and middle schools were weak in planning and implementation, that many schools did not have school policies, and, where they did, they did not influence the daily work of teachers. Further, schools were teaching a narrow curriculum which, although concentrating on basic subjects, did not teach them effectively enough (Thomas, 1990, p.97). The White Paper's solutions lay in the tighter management of the teacher workforce through increasing the management strategies of evaluation, appraisal and strategic planning. It saw the subject consultant's role as vital in these processes and again stressed that more use should be made of subject consultants. It was regretted that even when they were appointed,

it is unusual for them to be given time, the status and encouragement to enable them to prepare and offer support to their colleagues and to exert the necessary influence on the whole curriculum of the school.

(cited in Thomas, 1990, p.98)

In the continuous quest to increase educational standards, these documents advocated a wide subject-based curriculum with subject teaching and high levels of match. The teachers needed to implement this in the primary schools were seen to require not only the personal qualities of the traditional primary school generalist class teacher, but also to have a subject expertise. This would not only enhance their own teaching, by improving match, but would, through collaborative work, support and develop the subject teaching of colleagues in the school. Herein, arguably, lie the origins of the construction of the official 'good' teacher as a teacher/manager. In this view educational improvement would involve redeployment of the teaching force in a school and new measures to ensure the increased effectiveness of their management. Thus, there was increasing faith in new modes of managing teachers' work as a means of introducing reform. This was to have greater significance following the ERA.

The 'Good Teacher' in the Age of the 1988 Education Reform Act

The introduction of a legislated subject-based curriculum raised many acute issues in the primary school concerning its implementation (Alexander, 1994). The policies of the early 1990s were largely concerned with attempts to provide solutions to these problems. In these, the reconstructed model of the 'good teacher' took further shape. Its character and significance can be discerned in three key documents.

1. Curriculum Organisation and Classroom Practice: A Discussion Paper (DES 1992)

In 1992, Robin Alexander (Professor of Primary Education, University of Leeds), Jim Rose, (Chief Inspector, HMI) and Chris Woodhead (Chief Executive, National Curriculum Council) were commissioned by the Secretary of State for Education

to review available evidence about the delivery of education in primary schools' and 'to make recommendations about curriculum organisation, teaching methods and classroom practice appropriate for the successful implementation of the National Curriculum, particularly at Key Stage 2.

(DES, 1992, para. 1 p.5)

Though the ostensible status of the resulting document was that of a 'discussion paper', many saw it as a more hard-edged report. It certainly made a dramatic impact (see Woods and Wenham, 1995). The authors acknowledged that many primary teachers were experiencing difficulties in implementing the National Curriculum, particularly in Key Stage 2 with the prodigious content of the nine-subject curriculum. In places, they suggested that the disruption and restructuring caused by the reforms may be contributing to the teachers' difficulties (ibid. p. 11 paras. 27 and 28); or that it was the Orders themselves (ibid. p.36, para. 129), or the low level of funding in primary by comparison with secondary schools that was the source of the problem (ibid. p.5, para.4). More space, however, was devoted to issues surrounding teacher competences, staff deployment and management of the teacher workforce. Primary teachers were seen to profess a dogma (progressivism) which, in the opinion of the authors, was directly associated with mediocre practice (ibid. p.9 para.20) and an impediment to introducing 'the new procedures' (ibid. p.15, para. 43). The authors used the concepts of the 1978 survey such as match (ibid. p.32) and teacher subject expertise (renamed as curricular expertise on page. 25). They also noted as, HMI (1978) had done, what they saw as a positive relationship between the variables of match, teachers' subject expertise and teaching quality:

Our own view is that subject knowledge is a critical factor at every point in the teaching process: in planning, assessing, and diagnosing, task setting, questioning, explaining and giving feedback...The introduction of the National Curriculum with its statutory demands has brought the question sharply into focus, but HMI reports since the seventies point to the close relationship which exists between the knowledge which the teacher possesses and the quality of his/her teaching.

(DES, 1992, p.25, paras. 77 and 78)

The role of the subject specialist (now referred to as curriculum co-ordinator in the discussion paper), in implementing a subject based curriculum which was increasingly proving to be unmanageable, was also recognised:

The idea of the curriculum co-ordinator was developed to try to ensure that a school could make maximum use of the collective subject strength of its staff.

The idea was subsequently built into initial training courses through the Secretary of State's 1984 and 1989 accreditation criteria.

(ibid. para. 78)

Prescriptions were provided by the authors in the form of alternative models of staff deployment and the curriculum co-ordinator (pp. 42-45); also in listings of teacher knowledge, skills and competences necessary for raising educational standards (pp. 47-48, para.159). They include those skills to enable high levels of matching and efficient subject teaching (pp. 37-41).

The model of the 'good' teacher which emerges from this document is one having not only the qualities to facilitate work in classrooms but also managerial competences. Here, the discussion document goes beyond the largely classroom focus of the 1978 survey and reconstructs the 'good' teacher as teacher/manager. Given the subject basis of the National Curriculum, and the traditional curriculum organisation and staff deployment in the primary

school (Alexander, 1984), the ideal successful implementation requires that all generalist teachers have not only specialist knowledge of nine subjects but can also teach them. The managerial task for all primary schools, therefore, is to attempt to get all teachers to the stage where they can do this. Alternatives like secondary school subject specialist teaching involving the rotation of children or teachers is administratively difficult, only works in large schools and is relatively uncommon in the primary school. The authors of the discussion document suggested that much greater flexibility was needed in how teaching roles were conceived and suggested 'four broad teaching roles':

The *Generalist* who teaches most or all of the curriculum, probably specialising in age-range rather than subject, and does not profess specialist subject knowledge for consultancy.

The *Generalist/Consultant* who combines a generalist role in part of the curriculum with cross-school coordination, advice and support in one or more subjects.

The *Semi-Specialist* who teaches his/her subject, but who also has a generalist and or consultancy role.

The *Specialist* who teaches his/her subject full-time (as in the case of music in some primary schools)'.

(ibid. p.43, para. 146)

As the first of these roles had been associated with the difficulties the authors were investigating, and the last had been largely ruled out (owing to the reasons given above), the discussion paper seemed to be promoting the flexibility of the Generalist/Consultant and Semi-Specialist roles as being most suitable for implementing the subject-based curriculum. However, the authors only give partial acknowledgement (ibid. p.47-48, para. 159) to the idea that supporting subject expertise for generalist teachers, can involve the subject co-ordinator in the management tasks of: joint school policy formulation with colleagues;

collaborative planning and decision-making with colleagues; interpretation of national policy; inservice training (INSET) of colleagues; organisation of resources; observation of colleagues' teaching; having colleagues observe the subject co-ordinator; being responsible for teacher appraisal; supervising the work of other colleagues; providing consultancy; being responsible for standards of achievement in their subject throughout the school; keeping up to date with developments in their subject; undertaking curriculum review and monitoring; communicating aims and means to governors, parents and the community; liaising with other schools eg, cluster schools and secondary schools; participating in school-based schemes of initial teacher training; and assuming responsibility for the ordering, allocation and maintenance of stock and equipment for the subject. Given that in large schools each teacher will probably have a curriculum subject responsibility (not necessarily with an allowance) and in small schools may have two or three, then most teachers in the educational system will have this kind of curriculum management responsibility in addition to their role as a classroom generalist teacher.

In this discussion paper, official views coincided with those of some of the educational establishment. Alexander, for example, had from the mid-eighties been advocating modes of practice, organisation and staff deployment congruent with those promoted in the discussion paper, and had been signalling the dramatic changes in the primary teacher's role (Alexander, 1984 and 1992). The paper, though strongly critiqued by some (see Woods and Wenham, 1995), was warmly received by some prominent members of the academic research community who had done extensive work in primary schools (Bennett, 1992; Campbell, 1992; Simon, 1992). The view of the 'good' teacher as the extended and collaborative professional also resonates with certain features of the 'good' teacher presented by some researchers in the teacher development tradition (for example, Nias et al. 1992)

The 1992 discussion paper represents an official and tightly specified redefinition of the competences possessed by the 'good' primary teacher. Gone are references to the vague and largely undefined teacher qualities that HMI referred to in their discussions of teacher

effectiveness in their documents of the 1980s (A. Hargreaves, 1989; Lee and Fitz, 1994; Woods, 1996a). The extent to which this redefined model of teacher competence has impacted on the practice of primary teachers will now be considered.

2. Primary Matters: A discussion on teaching and learning in primary schools. (OFSTED 1994)

Those HMI who remain within OFSTED continue with some of the traditional work of HMI, including providing reports to inform the policy formulation process. As part of this work HMI still carry out research (in the form of data gathering exercises) and the compilation of school inspection reports to produce national surveys of subjects or phases. This is a greatly reduced activity as there are many fewer HMI to carry out this role. Nevertheless, HMI surveyed 49 primary schools in their 1994 'Primary Matters' investigation of curriculum organisation and classroom practice. Their focus was, as the 1992 discussion paper had been, the implementation of the National Curriculum in the primary school. The model they used to assess this quality was derived from the discussion paper (DES, 1992). Indeed, 'Primary Matters' is best understood as a continuation of that report (OFSTED, 1994, page, 1, paras, 1-7). HMI, in collecting data for their assessment of teaching quality, utilise the view of the 'good' teacher found in the 1992 report, and operationalise the prescriptive model of what 'good' teaching and the 'good' teacher is. Throughout their research, HMI seek to compare the reality of schooling (as they observe it in their inspections and surveys) with the criteria which emerge from the discussion paper.

The authors of 'Primary Matters' found some 'benefits accruing from the introduction of the National Curriculum in primary schools', but also 'highlighted some serious weaknesses stemming from a mismatch between the National Curriculum, its assessment and the capabilities of primary schools and teachers.' (OFSTED, 1994, p. 1). Again the existing level of teacher competences had proved inadequate to implement the National Curriculum. The reasons identified for this, the exact nature of teacher inadequacy, seemed very similar to those which were identified in the 1992 discussion document, despite other research

evidence concerning the sheer unmanageability of the nine subject curriculum (Campbell et al. 1992; Alexander, 1994). In this respect HMI seemed to be utilising pre-specifications of teacher quality derived from that document.

A major area of improvement noted by HMI was the use of subject co-ordinators. However, some of the major areas of teacher weakness identified amongst a significant minority of teachers included: match (OFSTED, 1994, p.3, para13); differentiation (ibid. para 12); subject knowledge and subject teaching expertise (ibid. para.17 p.4, paras. 18, 19); inflexibility in the balance between topic work and subject teaching (ibid. p.5, para. 26); teacher reluctance to engage in monitoring and evaluating the work of their colleagues (ibid. p.6, para. 30); and the management and supervision of teachers' work (ibid. para. 29). It was these teachers, we must assume, who were seen to be responsible for the slow implementation of the National Curriculum and the persisting variation of educational standards within the system.

The authors of 'Primary Matters' spend a large proportion of the report in rehearsing solutions to the failure to implement the National Curriculum more fully. If one cause of the problems had been poor curriculum management, then what they recommended was more and better management of teachers' work. The key to this was seen to be, as in the previous reports, to promote the importance of the management aspects of the role of the curriculum co-ordinators. These were renamed as 'subject managers' because 'co-ordinators (was) too limited a description' (ibid. p.9, para. 37), as it certainly was if all of the likely elements of the co-ordinator's role which emerged in the 1992 discussion paper were included in it. More management by headteachers and subject managers was seen to be the way of achieving quality teaching, subject specialism, match and rising educational standards. The authors recommended that,

primary schools need to carry out an audit of the subject expertise of their teaching staff and create a climate in which teachers are able to develop and share their subject expertise, irrespective of whether they hold any formal responsibilities for the management of a subject. The headteacher's subject knowledge should be included in any appraisal of the expertise available and steps should be taken over time to match more closely subject responsibilities with the subject expertise available on the staff. Gaps in expertise should be remedied partly by the appointment of new staff, including newly qualified teachers, with specifically required subject knowledge, and partly building expertise from the existing complement of staff.

(ibid. pp. 9 and 10, para. 41)

More effective curriculum management is recommended by the tight specification of the headteacher's curriculum management role. The 1992 discussion paper dismissed the idea that there was a tension between financial management and curriculum management and suggested to headteachers that their main job was managing the curriculum (DES, 1992, p.46, para. 152). 'Primary Matters', too, overlooks the headteacher's possible exacting role in financial management. HMI specify the areas of Co-ordination, Monitoring, Evaluation (including teacher appraisal), using the OFSTED Framework for Inspection, in order for headteachers to become the 'resident inspector'. In this respect the headteacher's role is specifically related to particular criteria, for example,

evaluating the whole curriculum using the criteria of breadth, balance, continuity, progression, coherence and compliance with National Curriculum requirements.

(OFSTED, 1994, p.8)

Review, monitoring, evaluation, appraisal and curriculum audit are activities that HMI felt that the subject managers should be more involved in. However, they noted that many subject managers did not have non-contact time in which they could carry out these tasks,

they also found reluctance on the part of some subject managers, to assume responsibility for the review and monitoring of their colleagues' work (ibid. p. 6 para. 31).

We thus have in 'Primary Matters' a strengthening of the redefinition of teacher quality which was begun in the 1992 discussion paper. Being a 'good' teacher now means possessing pedagogic skills, but also being a 'good' subject manager, being able to introduce reform through co-operative working and being able to engage in the supervision, review and monitoring of colleagues' subject specialist work (Lawn, 1988). This clear official definition of the 'good' teacher and the 'apparently technical production criteria of the codes' for their assessment makes possible the 'efficient' judgement of teacher quality through inspection (Grace, 1985).

3. The Handbook for the Inspection of Schools (OFSTED, 1993)

Nowhere are definitions of teacher quality and the 'good' teacher more clearly and closely prescribed than in 'The Handbook for the Inspection of Schools'. This document was produced by HMI initially in order to train the new inspectors of the privatised inspectorate and subsequently to be used as criteria with which to judge the quality of teachers and schools in the inspection process. As it is used for the inspection of schools at all stages, from the nursery school to the sixth form college, we must regard the definition of the 'good' teacher, which arises in this document, to be applicable to all phases.

Before the privatisation of the inspectorate and the formation of OFSTED, HMI did not publish the criteria they used when inspecting schools. There was, then, some uncertainty about how exactly they judged schools and teachers (Abbot, 1990). By contrast, OFSTED inspectors now use predetermined criteria, which are in the public domain, and take measures, for example, monitoring by HMI, to try and ensure both standardised inspection procedures are followed and judgements made. Since September 1994, every primary school in the state educational system is to be inspected every four years by the privatised inspectorate, using the OFSTED criteria contained within the 'Framework for Inspection'. In

addition to inspecting the quality and standards of pupils' learning, personal development and behaviour, inspectors will also collect data, evaluate and report on much wider aspects of school life and organisation; for example, the subject specialist and generalist work of teachers not only in classrooms but in the 'wider' work of management and administration, the management of resources and in collaborative work (for example, whole-school planning, co-ordination meetings, consultancy, INSET) with colleagues. All these are key elements of the restructured work of teachers. The inspection system, therefore, represents a direct mechanism for the monitoring of the work of teacher-managers in the reordered system.

Throughout the 'Framework' the words 'standards' and 'quality' occur frequently, and teaching and learning are to be judged in terms of them. Management is evaluated according to its 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness'. The 'Framework', too, shows consistency with previous policy documents in its prescriptions concerning subject specialism and aspects of pedagogy and organisation concerned with match and differentiation. Evidence concerning teachers' subject specialist knowledge and teaching expertise is to be gathered by the inspectors, prior to inspection, in the form of teachers' professional biographies (including qualifications, training and previous experience) . From this data, it is possible for the inspectors to calculate the degree of 'match' between teachers' subject qualifications and the actual subjects they teach and co-ordinate. Additionally, the inspectors compile data on this aspect of teachers' work through lesson observation and attendance at meetings where subject co-ordinators work with colleagues.

For 'Quality of Teaching' the criteria are the extent to which:

- teachers have clear objectives for their lessons;
- pupils are aware of these objectives;
- teachers have a secure command of the subject;

- lessons have suitable content;
- activities are well chosen to promote the learning of that content;
- activities are presented in ways that will engage and motivate and challenge all pupils, enabling them to make progress at a suitable pace.

(OFSTED 1993 'Framework', p.27)

Inspectors are instructed, when compiling the report, which is derived from the implementation of the above criteria that, amongst other things, they must comment on and provide an evaluation of:

the quality of teaching provided and its effects on the quality of learning and standards of pupils' achievements;

the range of teaching techniques used and their fitness of purpose;

teachers' knowledge of subjects;

the degree to which work is matched to pupils' attainments and abilities;

(ibid. pp. 27 and 28)

In making a judgement based on the evaluation criteria the inspectors are instructed to make

a judgement on the quality of teaching, including an assessment of the suitability of the methods chosen, the teacher's confidence and competence in handling the lesson, the extent to which work is suitably differentiated for the pupils in the class or group, and the effectiveness of classroom management.

(ibid. p.14)

Detailed specification of quality in teaching is provided for each of the National Curriculum subjects in the 'Guidance:Inspection Schedule' in the form of pen sketches of typical teacher

and pupil behaviours and activities in 'satisfactory' and 'unsatisfactory' lessons. The stated purpose of this section is to assist inspectors to reach judgements on standards and quality in teaching.

One section of 'The Framework' is devoted to criteria with which to judge the 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' of financial, curriculum and personnel management. The criteria refer to the headteacher and senior management. In primary schools, senior managers are generally class teachers. Co-ordinators, too, are judged using management criteria, and, as argued earlier, most class teachers will probably be co-ordinators too. The inspectors evaluate teacher performance in the management aspects of their co-ordination role, for example, how effectively they pass on their subject expertise to others. Judgements are made with respect to teacher performance in the whole-school work of planning, curriculum audit, review, monitoring, appraisal and evaluation.

Thus teacher quality is now defined in terms of technical competences as opposed to personal qualities. Indeed, the attributes that previously teachers may or may not have had, for example co-operativeness, are now, in official discourse, obligatory technical requirements of the job (Lawn, 1988).

It is in the OFSTED criteria for inspection that earlier definitions of teacher quality assume their full significance. In a discussion about teachers' work in the late nineteenth century, Grace (1985), draws a striking comparison between the context and methods of the judgement of teachers in Victorian England and contemporary developments in the evaluation of teacher quality:

There is a cutback of educational expenditure for State provided schooling. There is a growing emphasis upon tighter accountability; a required core curriculum and a concentration upon basics. The role and strength of the inspectorate is being reappraised and changes can be expected in the ideology of inspection at all levels. Both teacher training and the work of teachers in schools are to be subject to more surveillance and to the application of more specific criteria for the assessment and evaluation of competence. Perhaps most significant of all these are suggestions that teacher deficiencies and the deficiencies of teacher education are at the heart of the 'education problem' today. Constructs of teacher competence are again high on the agenda as are principles and procedures for determining such competence.

(ibid. p. 13)

The 'Good Teacher': A Contested Concept

Definitions of teacher quality and the 'good' teacher are social constructions and subject to change at different historical moments. I have suggested that this process can be seen in an analysis of official policy on teacher quality since the 1978 Primary Survey, and that the same themes in constructions of the 'good' teacher have been underpinned and strengthened in policy developments since the ERA as teachers' work becomes dominated by the implementation needs of measures such as the subject-based National Curriculum and the changed value context of schooling (Ball, 1994). While some consistency was seen between policy themes in the 1978 Primary Survey, and more recent policy, there has, I have argued, been an increasingly marked emphasis on teacher competences, technical skills and managerial attributes in official constructions of the 'good' teacher. This is evident in policy on the primary school and in the official criteria used to judge teacher quality. This increased 'codification' of teacher quality has led some (for example, Grace, 1985) to draw parallels with the last system of the strongest controls of the definition of the teacher and teachers' work, namely the Revised Code of the nineteenth century.

Official definitions of the 'good' teacher, however, are not uncontested. Those discussed here have been the subject of widespread critical attention (Sharples, 1980; Cunningham, 1988; A Hargreaves, 1989; Brehony, 1990; Hammersley and Scarth, 1993; Lee and Fitz, 1994). Some, in particular, stress the absence of social and resource factors in official accounts which condition 'opportunities to teach' (A. Hargreaves, 1989; Woods, 1990). Brehony (1990) argues that it was the Committee for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) criteria (DES, 1984 and 1989) which ensured that courses would only be approved if they provided training for subject specialism and subject co-ordination roles that produced 'a model which corresponded more to that of a secondary teacher rather than to the previously existing one of the generalist primary school teacher' (Brehony, 1990, p. 115). The OFSTED criteria of standards and quality in teaching which apply to pre-school, primary and secondary phases lends support to this view. Brehony suggests that for this and other reasons the idea of the primary school as a separate and special self-contained phase which was established in the Hadow Report (CCBE, 1931) has been destroyed and the notion of the 'good' teacher that its recommendations entailed is under attack. Woods (1995a) finds teachers whom he describes as 'creative teachers'. An element of their creativity is their commitment to constructivist theory and practice. In this view, teaching takes precedence over managerial tasks, and the learning of the pupils begins primarily with the constructed knowledge of the child as opposed to the established knowledge of the subject disciplines. Indeed the increased knowledge of teaching and learning, which would be involved in an empirical assessment of such concepts as match and differentiation (Richards, 1987), may require conceptions of 'good' teaching which are closer to the ideas of 'reflective teaching' (Pollard and Tann, 1987) or the 'teacher as researcher' (Stenhouse, 1975).

The implementation of official models of 'good teaching' in schools and classrooms is by no means total. In fact, there appears to be a certain degree of negotiability for teachers in schools (Ball and Bowe, 1992; Vulliamy and Webb, 1993), though this, of course, may change as the work of OFSTED gathers pace. Pollard et al. (1994) found that the majority of teachers in their national study viewed the increased managerial aspects of their role

negatively. Hayes (1994) found some teachers, in his study of a primary school, to be reluctant to accept managerial responsibility because they viewed it as an extra burden which would reduce their effectiveness with their classes. Woods and Jeffrey (1996a) analyse the dilemmas that arise from the tension between the teachers' pedagogic and management roles and the human cost of this. Inevitably there will be spaces within schooling where contestation can occur. The teachers' successful national boycott of Government testing in the early 1990s was an example of the reassertion of a mode of professionalism, involving models of the 'good' teacher and teacher quality which were at odds with those to be found in official policy.

Official versions of the 'good' teacher have been incorporated into initial teacher education. The criteria produced by CATE (DES, 1984 and 1989), considered to be a National Curriculum for teacher education, embody, Furlong (1992) argues, a technicist view of the teacher. Lee and Fitz (1994) claim that it has been derived from the recommendations of the 1978 survey. New moves are now underway to further redefine the teacher and teacher quality as initial training moves to schools (Barton et al. 1994) and is to be controlled by the newly created Teacher Training Agency (TTA). This body will specify the school-based processes of training and the exit competences of the newly qualified teacher, while OFSTED monitors their implementation. It is in this context that we await future official definitions of the 'good' teacher.

The Research Evidence on the New Professionalism

However, how far we are witnessing the demise of the 'professional' and the rise of the 'technicist' teacher is an issue on which the research evidence is uneven. The changes have elicited complex and contradictory responses from teachers (Grace, 1995). Teachers filter the policies of change through their existing professional ideologies, perspectives and identities (Broadfoot and Osborn 1988; Woods 1993 and 1995a). This produces a range of adaptations in the teacher workforce ranging from compliance with the new policy through mediation and accommodation to resistance and rejection. Pollard et al. (1994) identify an

'emergent professionalism' among teachers, who largely comply with the reforms and see them as necessary measures to remedy deficiencies in the system. D. Hargreaves (1994), too describes a 'new' professionalism in which teacher isolationism is broken down and a culture of collaboration arises. He claims that this is an unintended consequence of government policy which was designed to stimulate competition. Webb and Vulliamy (1996) describe how teachers readily adopted the challenging new roles and responsibilities. Osborn (1995) suggests that teachers are now coming to terms with their restructured work and are developing new professional skills. Campbell and Neill (1994b) although noting the rapid intensification of primary teachers' work, claim this has not led to deskilling and deprofessionalisation but to an enhanced professionalism. Cooper and McIntyre (1996) found the National Curriculum to be an effective stimulus to collaborative planning, shared professional learning and the development of teachers professional craft knowledge. Enhanced professionalism in the area of assessment (Gipps et al. 1995) and early years' education (Evans et al. 1994) has been reported.

Alternatively, Grace's (1995) analysis of headteacher responses to the restructuring of their work shows how the marketisation of schools, requiring managerialist strategies to implement, throws up many values dilemmas for the headteachers. Bowe et al. (1992, p.5) argue that the new controls over teachers and their work discussed earlier produce complex changes in which the 'trust, commitment, co-operation and common purpose of teachers is being lost or jeopardized'. Mac an Ghail (1992) argues that, in secondary schools at least, the 'teachers' occupational culture is in crisis, with the emergence of intensely differentiated and polarised bifurcated teaching ideologies' (ibid. p. 178). Elements of these analyses both support and oppose the 'technification of teaching' thesis (Apple, 1986). As Barton et al. (1994 p.535) point out 'important questions remain, including how successful are the attempts to control teachers and schools and what forms of opposition are teachers developing.' This is a major focus for the rest of the study.

This was the context in which my research project was conceived. In chapter 2, I go on to consider, in the form of a reflexive account, how it developed. This entails a discussion of the theoretical frameworks adopted, the chosen methodology, and the research process.

CHAPTER TWO

Researching Restructuring: A Reflexive Account

In this chapter I provide a reflexive account of my research in order to explore the relationship, between theory and methods. I view the social processes in the school using three theoretical frameworks. These are, intensification theory, policy trajectory theory and symbolic interactionism. These largely determine the form of research questions asked and dictate the methods to be utilised in the study.

The chapter is organised as follows: I consider the theoretical frameworks of the research, the choice of research methods, and the research process. Researcher involvement and the experience of the research process permeates each of these sections.

Intensification Theory

Research commences with some 'foreshadowed problem' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). My initial interest arose from my reading of conference papers of implementation studies, reported later in Pollard et al. (1994) and Campbell and Neill (1994a and b); and of teacher adaptations and coping strategies (Osborn and Broadfoot 1992, Woods, 1995a). All of these studies were concerned, in one form or another, with teacher adaptations to the National Curriculum. The intensification thesis figured prominently in my reading of the literature on recent changes in teachers' work (Larson, 1980; Apple, 1986; Ozga and Lawn, 1988). The argument was that the centralisation of curriculum and assessment control would disempower and deprofessionalise (proletarianise) the hitherto autonomous and 'professional' teachers by degrading traditional curriculum and assessment skills. Apple (1986) claimed that increasing demands for efficiency in the economic domain bring with them the introduction of 'scientific' management structures into schools. This accelerates work-rates, diversifies work and leads to an increased division of labour between teachers and managers, with teachers becoming increasingly deskilled. Nevertheless they may

become reskilled in a narrower range of skills, involving the 'delivery' and assessment of a curriculum designed by managers and external 'experts'. In this process the conception of work is separated from its execution (Ball, 1988). While the thesis had been contested (Ozga and Lawn, 1988) the contestation had not, at this time, been informed by empirical studies of schooling. It seemed to me that the ERA had provided a 'natural experiment', which promised 'to reveal what happens when the limiting factors that normally constrain a particular element of social life are breached. At such times social phenomena that are otherwise taken for granted become visibly problematic for the participants themselves, and thus for the observer' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.36). I therefore wanted to use a case study of a primary school (see below why the choice of a school in this sector was important) in order to generate sufficient data with which to interrogate the intensification thesis.

Once in the field, and confronted by changes in the teachers' work which had been taking place before, during and following the ERA, I became interested in the evolution of official policy on teachers' work and analysed developments since 1978. By focussing on critical incidents in the school, I sought to describe and analyse the impact of a range of restructuring policies on the work of the Headteacher, teachers, and the social organisation of the school. As the work progressed I realised that I was eliciting data which could be used to ground policy trajectory theory (Ball, 1990a) and could also serve to question (Woods, 1996b) intensification theory. This insight was supported by my discovery of research on teachers' work in the Canadian elementary school, which was specifically designed to test the intensification thesis (A. Hargreaves, 1994a). As my research progressed I became aware of empirical studies of the English primary school which, although sustaining the idea that teachers' work was becoming intensified, refuted the claim that it was necessarily becoming deskilled (Campbell and Neill, 1994b; Woods, 1995a). This view was supported by work in the secondary school (Cooper and MacIntyre, 1996). Alternatively, the theoretical work on restructuring of education systems (Seddon, 1991; Kenway, 1994; Robertson, 1994) argued that restructuring policies both intensified and deskilled teachers. My reading in the area of policy sociology revealed work which

examined the impact of policy on the secondary school (Bowe et al. 1992; Ball, 1994). This latter work used empirical studies of the secondary school in order to develop a theory of the policy process.

Policy Trajectory Theory

What many of the empirical studies of teachers' responses (for example, Woods, 1995a) show is that the effects of restructuring and the responses of the teachers to the process are complex and contradictory (Grace, 1995). Teachers' reactions cannot simply be read off from official policy prescriptions. The 'pattern of actual restructuring awaits empirical developments' (Seddon, 1991, p. 20). What is needed is detailed studies of what happens when policy reforms are introduced 'into the realm of individual institutions' (Gillborn, 1994, p. 147) in order to discover 'what is going on' (Mac an Ghaill, 1996a). Policy analysis reveals the nature of education policy at the macro (system/societal) level.

Additionally, we need to understand the implications the reforms have for teachers and how they are experienced at the meso (organisational) and micro (personal) levels. This will contribute to policy sociology and will add to our understanding of the 'processes and dynamics of social change' (Gillborn, 1994, p. 147). Policy sociology considers policy as a cyclical process and aims to provide an analysis of it in the various phases of the cycle. It offers too, a means of bridging the macro-micro gap (A. Hargreaves, 1985) since a study focussed on the impact of a range of policies in the 'zone of implementation' (Bowe et al. 1992) will tend to expose the constraints and 'influences of wider societal factors on what teachers do' (Woods, 1996b, p.48). Given the lack of studies of primary schools as organisations it seemed timely and appropriate to utilise a policy sociology approach in order to view the impact of a range of recent policies. There is a need also to complement those theoretical studies which have sought to analyse official policy for restructuring teachers' work and its organisation (Lawn, 1995) with empirical work focussed on how restructuring is being played out in practice.

There is a crucial role here for an ethnographic case study approach. But this approach must learn from the methodological errors of the past. Some approaches to studying the effects of policies on teachers have been criticised for being flawed because of their adoption of a 'single change focus' (Bowe et al. 1992, p.166). By 'focusing on one facet of change, for example, the National Curriculum, LMS, assessment, teacher pedagogies the study is conducted as though other provisions of the Act did not exist or do not impinge' (ibid.). All the innovations in school are interrelated (Wallace, 1990) and their interrelations must be seen in 'composite and holistic terms' (Bowe et al. 1992, p.166). Criticism has also been made of the neglect of the institutional history of the school in studies of policy implementation (ibid.). Yet, change in a school is located within and has to be accommodated by the particular micro-political history of that school. Change in institutions is 'rarely the technical and consensual process that so many organisational theorists portray' (ibid. p.22). Generally, there has been a neglect of the experiences, perspectives and emotions of actors who are charged with the implementation of policy.

However, there is a growing tendency in policy theory and research to move from a straightforward conception of policy towards more complex models (Vanegas, 1996). Traditionally, policy was seen as a factity which was handed down by the powerful and implemented, unproblematically, by the less powerful. Ball characterises this simplistic linear (Tritter, 1995) model as follows:

Policies as texts 'conjure up' pristine and magical thought worlds of practice - ideal settings in which the intentions of policy makers enter smoothly and unhindered into the minds and actions of the practitioners.

(Ball, 1996a, p.9)

In this view of policy little attempt is made to understand the social processes involved or the perspectives and experiences of those who implement the policy (Vanegas, 1996). Recently new and more complex ways of conceptualising policy have arisen. For instance, there have

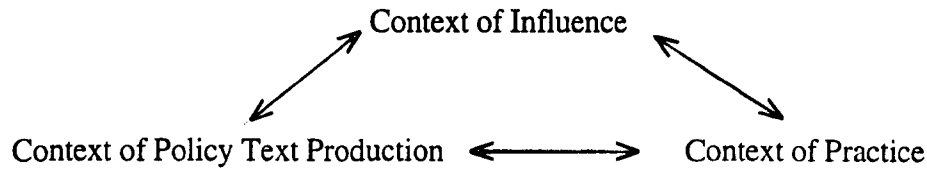
been calls to focus policy research on the sites of implementation (Bowe et al. 1992; Halpin and Troyna, 1994; Fitz et al. 1994; Raab, 1994). Vanegas (1996) cites Elmore (1996) who argues that policy can be more completely understood by looking at micro aspects of policy to find out more about practitioners and to look at policy with an 'inside-out perspective' (Ball, 1987). Ozga (1990) sees policy analysis as bringing together macro and micro levels of analysis to ensure that the inclusion of actors' perspectives provides a 'bigger picture'. Bowe et al. (1992) who are very critical of top-down models have argued that 'policy formation does not end with the legislative moment, but that it includes the implementation' (Vanegas, 1996, p.3). Ball in developing a definition of policy sociology argues that policy is an

economy of power, a set of technologies and practices which are realised and struggled over in local settings. Policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended. Policies are always incomplete insofar as they relate to or map on to the 'wild profusion' of local practice. Policies are inevitably crude and simple. Practice is sophisticated, contingent, complex and unstable. Policy as practice is 'created' on a trialectic of dominance, resistance and chaos/freedom; that is requirements, prohibitions or incentives, responses and interpretations, and a great deal of 'other' action which is not directly related to policy at all.

(Ball, 1996a, p.3)

As an alternative to top-down approaches Bowe et al. (op cit.) conceptualise the policy process by utilising a trajectory analysis.

Representation of the Policy Process



(Bowe et al. 1992, p. 20)

Vanegas summarises the three interrelated policy contexts as follows:

The 'context of influence' is where public policy is normally initiated; where policy discourses are constructed. In the 'context of policy text production' policies are articulated in the language of general public good; texts that represent policy are produced. In the 'context of practice', policy is not simply received and implemented, rather it is subject to interpretation and then recreated, Bowe et al. (1992) argue that practitioners do not confront policy texts as naive readers, they come with histories, with experience, with values and purposes of their own.

(Vanegas, 1996, p.3)

It is important that policy, in the trajectory model, is seen as a cyclical and relational activity (Penney and Evans 1991) which allows for 'negotiative power' from below (Woods, 1995a).

Empirical work on restructuring is rare, with most researchers concentrating solely on policy analysis (Seddon, 1991; Swanson, 1992; Gordon and Pearce, 1993; Lawn, 1995). Some progress has been made to study the interrelated impact of a multiplicity of policy initiatives on the secondary school (Bowe et al. 1992; Ball, 1994) and the combined effects of marketisation and managerialism on the primary school (Menter et al. 1995a and 1997). A. Hargreaves (1994a) has researched restructuring in the context of the Canadian elementary school. Grace (1995) and Bowe et al. (1992) use qualitative data to develop a

critique of restructuring. While the work of Ball (1994) and Bowe et al. (1992) employs the ethnographic methods of observation and interviewing, it has been criticised for producing merely 'partial' ethnographies (Troyna, 1994a). For while the researchers have obviously interviewed and observed teachers and headteachers in a range of schools and contexts within schools, they convey little sense that they have attempted to become immersed in the culture(s), described and analysed the social organisation of the school, or generated categories, typologies and grounded theory. The strength of their work lies in policy analysis, and the development of policy theory. Although there are recent indications that policy research is now concentrating on a synthesis of policy analysis and 'truly' ethnographic work in the secondary school (Reay, 1996; Ball, 1996b; Gewirtz, 1996), the only distinctively ethnographic enquiry into restructuring is Mac an Ghaill's (1992) study of a comprehensive school. But his research does not incorporate rigorous policy analysis with ethnographic enquiry.

My study analyses policy at the macro level, in the context of policy text production, and at the meso and micro levels in the context of practice. It is an aim, therefore, to combine policy analysis with an ethnographic study of a primary school in order to understand the impact of restructuring policies on the work of the Headteacher and teachers. In order to view the restructuring of education from their perspectives, I use the methods of interactionist ethnography.

Symbolic Interactionism

My research approach was derived from classic ethnographies in the Chicago tradition of the 1920s and 1930s; what Woods (1996b, p.32) refers to as the 'main line' of interactionist ethnography and derives from Mead, Blumer, Becker, Glaser and Strauss. The ethnographic work inspired by this movement is underpinned by symbolic interactionist theory.

Symbolic interactionism is seen by some as the polar opposite of functionalist and conflict theories (Worsley, 1970) in that it rejects determinism and views social order as the outcome

of the interaction of members of society. While Mead (1934) certainly stresses the importance of socialization as a shaping force to produce internalised norms of conduct, the individual 'may always act impulsively and creatively in ways that have not been learned from society' (Worsley, 1970, p. 545). Emphasis is on the construction and maintenance of the self (Woods, 1996b). The socialised individual is capable of thought, invention and self-determination (Strauss, 1959). Symbolic interactionists therefore concern themselves with the subjective meanings and experiences of individuals (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). The emphasis here is on human beings' use and interpretation of symbols and on social life as constructed by 'generating meanings and making interpretations within small social groups' (ibid. p.34). The focus is on how 'individual actors make sense of, analyse or interpret any given social situation (ibid.). From this perspective, humans have the capacity to reflect upon their circumstances and because they have self-consciousness can 'see themselves reflected in other people's responses and reactions to them and can think about these reactions and act accordingly' (ibid.). Cooley (1964) describes this process as the 'looking glass self'. Humans construct responses to situations rather than merely reacting to them.

Blumer (1976) argued that social researchers guided by the theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism would necessarily need to focus on actors' meanings, motivations and interpretations. Like Blumer, Woods stresses the importance of the 'empirical social world', that is,

the minute by minute, day to day social life of individuals as they interact together, as they develop understandings and meanings, as they engage in joint action and respond to each other as they adapt to situations, and as they encounter and move to resolve problems that arise through their circumstances.

(Woods, 1996b, p.37)

Berger (1966) writes of social reality having 'many layers of meaning'. My task therefore, was to attempt to penetrate the various 'layers of reality' of the social setting. Understanding social life also requires that we 'take the role of the other' by putting ourselves in the participant's position, 'looking at the world with them'. Researchers must appreciate the culture and attempt to capture the meanings that permeate that culture as understood by the participants (Woods, 1996b, p.38). Part of this task requires the researcher to learn the symbols of the culture studied. This primarily involves 'learning the language of the participants with all its nuances and perhaps special vocabulary' (ibid. p.41). Interactions must be 'situated' because 'situations affect perspectives and behaviours and perspectives can affect situations' (ibid. p.43). The dynamic nature of social life requires that the researcher view interaction as a process in which the individuals and groups under study are,

defining, assigning meanings, aligning and re-aligning their actions, seeing how they can best satisfy their interests, comparing and contrasting them with others, adjusting them if necessary, and devising strategies. Interaction and interpretation do not remain static, governed by defining features like group norms.

(ibid. p.45)

Owing to its orientations on subjectivity, agency, the social construction of reality and the everyday life of participants, symbolic interactionism has been accused of 'macro-blindness' - the neglect of constraints on social life which have their origins in social structure (Whitty, 1974; Sharp, 1982; Troyna, 1994b; Power, 1996). However, as Woods (1996b, p.48) argues, while the symbolic interactionist focus is on 'the everyday, neglecting social structure and the constraints it places upon actors is not an essential feature' of the approach. There was a tendency for interactionist studies of schooling to eschew functionalist and conflict theories (A. Hargreaves, 1980a). However, detailed ethnographic studies of schooling often pointed to the inadequacy of macro-perspectives to explain adequately the social processes of schooling. Marxist correspondence theory of schooling, for example,

was undermined by studies showing that, far from schools producing a docile workforce for capitalism, they actually were an arena for resistance and rebellion (Willis, 1977; see Woods, 1996b). Thus, Woods (1996b) argues that interactionist studies, by using grounded empirical evidence, can have the capacity to interrogate grand theory. One example of this approach, an interrogation of the Marxist intensification thesis, which is apposite to my research, is described by Woods:

teachers' work has become more overloaded, routinised, all consuming, and externally directed but, A. Hargreaves (1994a) shows (*on the basis of empirical work*) that this can only be a partial explanation of what teachers do. Indeed, some of their practice shows contrary tendencies. Thus interactionism can be said to have a 'corrective' function inasmuch as it can submit some of the claims of such theories to empirical test. In the process the theory becomes modified.

(Woods, 1996b, p.49) (*my italics*)

Additionally, Woods argues 'interactionism can approach society and social structure from below'. In this approach,

by monitoring the attribution of meanings as well as how these sustain situations and processes, and how people define and redefine each other's and their own perspectives, patterns may be identified that exhibit personal creativity and external constraint.

(*ibid.* p49)

The study of coping strategies (Pollard, 1982; A. Hargreaves, 1984) utilises this approach and requires the study of

the situational constraints in response to which they are fashioned and of the relation (present or past) of such constraints to wider structural concerns.

While the language of strategy analysis has so far been confined to interactionist research, this need no longer be the case. All too frequently, the *situation* has been regarded as the outer limit of constraint upon teacher and pupil behaviour. Concerns which have normally been thought to be the proper province of interactionist research should now be linked with and included in theories about the operations of the social structure.

(A. Hargreaves, 1980a, p.193, quoted in Woods, 1996b, p. 49) (*italics in original*)

In forming links between macro-social structure and meso (level of the organisation) and micro (level of the individual) the ERA has provided an opportunity to study the 'interconnections between political frameworks and school and classroom structure and processes' (Woods, 1996b, p.75). Studying these interconnections helps to cultivate the 'sociological imagination' which,

enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals. It enables him (sic) to take into account how individuals in the welter of their daily experience, often become falsely conscious of their social positions. Within that welter the framework of modern society is sought, and within that framework the psychologies of a variety of men and women re-formulated. By such means the personal uneasiness of individuals is focused upon explicit troubles and the indifference of publics is transformed into involvement with public issues.

(Mills, 1959, pp. 11-12, cited in Woods, 1996b, p.50)

My research approach also owes something to critical ethnography, in that, like Ball, I use the

methods data and analytical procedures of ethnography, in order to generate critical perspectives upon the impact and effects of policy in local settings...(*Ethnography is used*) to bring into play the concerns and interests and diverse voices of marginalised and oppressed social groups; as well as a way of accessing the voices of authority and influence (Gewirtz and Ozga, 1990).

(Ball, 1994, p.3) (my *italics*)

Issues of Validity

A charge that is often made against interactionist ethnographic research, is that in abandoning the tenets of realist positivism it merely produces subjective accounts which are distorted by the values and prejudices of the researcher. From this perspective, accounts of ethnographic research are seen as fictions of the social world, on the same level as the accounts of journalists or novelists (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Providing a reflexive account of the research process, may, in the eyes of some, bolster the idea that ethnographic work is subjective in nature (Halpin and Troyna, 1994). In fact, providing this account is one way of attempting to achieve some measure of objectivity in the research, and subsequent account of it. In constructing an account of the social world, I reject a 'naive realist' position which aims to provide an account of social reality 'as it is'. I, therefore, do not strive to establish 'ontological objectivity' (Eisner, 1992), that is, to accurately present an undistorted view of a reality 'in its own terms', and 'independent of the researcher' (Hammersley, 1992, p.51) - a kind of 'immaculate perception' (Eisner, 1992, p.53). In my research I assume a 'subtle realist' (Hammersley, 1992, p.51) approach. This philosophical view denies that we 'have direct access to an external objectivity, though there are independent knowable phenomena. These are human constructions, and cannot be known with absolute certainty. But we must 'do our best to get as close to them as possible' (Woods, 1996b, p.56)

In this chapter, therefore, I provide a reflexive account of the research in order to increase the validity of the study (Hammersley, 1983; Walford, 1987 and 1991; Burgess, 1993; Woods, 1996b). There have been repeated calls for this kind of approach, particularly in policy related research (Halpin and Troyna, 1994; Tritter, 1995). My research was in the interactionist ethnographic mode and it is important that this type of research is accompanied by a reflexive account, for the following reason. The researcher is the most important research instrument in ethnographic research. Research topics/questions are stimulated by the previous experience of the researcher and their values, presuppositions, attitudes and beliefs feed into the research. Research cannot be insulated from the wider society or the biography of the researcher (Foster, 1996). Researchers themselves must be aware of this and strive, as far as is possible, to eliminate bias and error. We also need details of the researcher's self and their involvement in order for readers of the research report to assess the validity of accounts and knowledge claims which are made. Some biographical details of the researcher have already been given in the introduction to this study. Other criteria to aid validity included 'naturalism', triangulation and respondent validation. I deal with each in turn.

'Naturalism'

By adopting procedures which attempt to minimise error and researcher bias, we aim to provide accounts of the social world which are accurate representations of the phenomena studied. These accounts aim for 'naturalism', in being faithful to the setting studied.

Hammersley and Atkinson explain 'naturalism' as follows:

Naturalism proposes that, as far as possible, the social world should be studied in its 'natural' state, undisturbed by the researcher. Hence, 'natural' not 'artificial' settings, like experiments or formal interviews, should be the primary source of data. Furthermore, the research must be carried out in ways that are sensitive to the nature of the setting. The primary aim should be to describe what happens in the setting, how the people involved see their

own actions and those of others, and the contexts in which the action takes place. A key element of naturalism is the demand that the social researcher should adopt an attitude of 'respect' or 'appreciation' towards the social world. In Matza's words, naturalism is 'the philosophical view that remains true to the nature of the phenomenon under study' (1969, p. 5)

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.6)

I therefore sought to increase the internal validity of the research through spending a long time in the setting (18 months) and providing 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of that setting.

The evidence used to support 'naturalistic' accounts can be assessed using the criteria of plausibility and credibility (Hammersley, 1992). Citing Hammersley, Woods (1996b, p.57), defines these criteria as follows:

Hammersley (1990, p.61) opts for principles of plausibility (is a claim likely to be true given our existing knowledge?) and credibility (does a claim seem warranted 'given the nature of the phenomenon concerned, the circumstances of the research, the characteristics of the researcher etc.'). If neither of these applies, we shall require evidence to be convinced, and this evidence must also be put to the test of plausibility and credibility. How much evidence is required 'depends on the relationship between the conclusions drawn and what the audience takes to be beyond reasonable doubt' (Hammersley, 1993, p.32).

Triangulation

Another aid to validity was achieved through triangulation (see Delamont, 1992). Both methods and data were triangulated. For instance, the use of official policy and document analysis, observation and formal and informal interviewing allowed views to be compared

and contrasted (see selection of cases and data collection and analysis below). This enabled participants' views expressed in interview to be cross checked with their behaviour and perspectives observed in other contexts. This comparative analysis revealed discrepancies and inconsistencies in accounts. The research was strengthened in this way, by not being reliant on data collected using one method only. Triangulation of data was also achieved by collecting various participants' views of the same event. For example, I interviewed class teachers, senior management team members and Headteacher, before during and after the formulation of the SDP.

Respondent Validation

While triangulation cannot guarantee validity by its sole use, used in conjunction with the other methods mentioned it contributes to the validation process. In order for the researcher to check the validity of accounts, the respondents can be invited to comment on raw and analysed data and thus have access to the researcher's interpretations of perspectives and events (see data collection and analysis below). Participants give their views, on reflection, on interview transcripts of interviews in which they have taken part and be encouraged to add, delete or clarify information. They may indicate sections of recorded data they do not wish to be used in the analysis or research report. They can also be invited to reflect on the accuracy or 'closeness of fit' between the interpretations and analysis of the researcher to the setting studied. One form of respondent validation which involves disseminating research reports to participants, while no doubt assisting analysis and overcoming some ethical problems, can fall foul of institutional politics. Research findings can and have proved to be a micro-political resource used by the participants (Ball, 1984; Scarth, 1985). In these situations new ethical dilemmas arose. These procedures for establishing validity will be apparent in the following description and discussion of the fieldwork.

The Fieldwork

Selecting a Setting

A number of factors bore upon the choice of a primary school for my study. My experience of schooling and my reading of the literature led me to believe that the measures contained within the ERA were likely to have made a more profound impact on primary schooling than on secondary. Secondary schools had, for a number of years, been dealing with externally initiated changes, for instance, comprehensive reorganisation, the General Certificate of Secondary Education, the Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative, the publication of examination results and the development of various managerial tiers (for example, head of house, head of department, senior management teams). I considered that a study based in the secondary school and focussing on changes since ERA would have to deal with 'muddled' analytical waters in view of all of the other changes which had taken place. By comparison, the primary school had been free of external direction and pressures since the demise of the eleven plus test in many LEAs. Also, my years spent as a teacher were in the secondary and middle school. Although many of the social processes of the primary school were likely to be familiar to me, I felt that this phase of schooling was sufficiently 'sociologically' distant to make the culture 'anthropologically strange' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.9) to me and thus lend some critical analytical distance to the study. As I intended to carry out an interactionist ethnographic study, the schools selected for the research would need to be located within reasonable travelling distance, within 'qualitative range' of my home, to allow frequent visits, some of them short in duration, to the schools. Texts on research methodology (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Woods, 1996b) stress the importance of 'casing the joint'. This involves getting to know something of the research setting prior to the commencement of the research. This can be done by having a contact who is already working in the setting (Hammersley, 1984) or through documentation produced by the school. I accomplished this through the information I gleaned while in the process of gaining access. Many difficulties were experienced at this stage of the research for reasons not unconnected with the theoretical stance of my research. However, this experience proved to

be of value in that I began to theorise about the institution and culture which I was attempting to enter and what impact restructuring policies were having on primary teachers' work. In other words, I was already 'casing the joint'. A paper produced as a result of this theorising was later published in the *British Educational Research Journal* (see Troman 1996a and Appendix).

My original research design was to choose two primary schools, in different locations, one inner city and one suburban, in order to highlight differences and similarities. While I doubted the possibility of operationalising and selecting 'typical schools', I chose large primary schools because they would, obviously, have a larger sample of teachers to observe and interview than small ones. Typicality of school could be assessed to an extent, because at the time of the research all of the primary schools in the system were having to implement national policy. This would, I considered, lend a degree of external validity or generalizability to the study. Obviously, the findings of a case study of one school, however typical, could not be generalised to primary schools throughout the educational system. However, I considered that any theory generated in the study would have wider applicability in other contexts, until, of course, it was questioned or falsified by further enquiry (Woods, 1996b). However, since the process of gaining access to a school proved such a difficult process, and I had many refusals, I eventually carried out fieldwork in only one school and did not continue with the comparative aspect of the study. In this respect the selection of a case to research was more a matter of the school choosing me than me choosing the school. It could be argued, therefore, that I was dealing with an 'opportunistic sample' (Riemer, 1977). This did, though, raise the possibility that, in a sense, the research school was untypical, in being 'open' and 'professionally confident' enough to accept a researcher, had not succumbed to the siege mentality (Woods, 1995a; Campbell et al. 1992) evident in so many other primary schools. The headteacher's enthusiasm to have me in the school was typical of his enterprising Headteacher style (see chapter 5).

The School

Meadowfields County Primary School (5 to 11 Years), was built in the mid 1960s. It lies on the outskirts of a South Midlands market town. The area in which it is situated is relatively prosperous with few examples of economic disadvantage. The school is surrounded by a pleasant residential area comprised of a mix of 1960s and contemporary, owner occupied, estate housing. Although it doesn't have a nursery unit, all of the pupils attended a local nursery school or pre-school playgroup before entering the Reception/Year One class. Of the 450 pupils, 8.4% were entitled to a free school meal. This percentage was significantly below the national average. Fewer than 5% of the pupils were from black Caribbean, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese ethnic minority groups; 2.5% came from homes where English was not the first language. There were eighteen full-time teachers (including Headteacher and Deputy Headteacher) and three part-time (0.9 full time equivalent). One of the part timers was a Section 11 teacher. Associate staff included, seven learning support assistants (LSAs), a secretary, a financial officer and a caretaker/cleaner. The school, at the time of the research, was engaged in an extensive building programme to replace many temporary classrooms (half the school population was accommodated in these) with permanent accommodation. Meadowfields was, according to the HMI report of February 1993, a successful school. A local authority inspector described it as being at the 'leading edge' of current developments in education. It was a popular school with parents and the local community. Further details of the school and its history are given in chapters which focus on the fieldwork data.

Selection of Cases within the Case

Once into the school and confronted with the complexity of social life, the dominant concerns, interests and priorities of the participants and my continuing reading of the literature, I began to attempt to refine my research focus. In my early days at the school I was struck by what seemed to be 'critical incidents' (Strauss, 1959) for the teachers, for instance, the way the teachers reflected on changes (the arrival of the new Headteacher) which had taken place nearly a decade previously; their struggles to implement and develop

new roles and responsibilities; their experience of a relatively recent school inspection; and their involvement (or lack of it) in formulating the SDP. Significant, too, was the economic and policy context these activities were taking place in, that was, rapidly changing policies of restructuring in the context of severe cuts in the funding of education. I decided to concentrate my efforts of data collection focussing on these broad issues. At the same time I became immersed in policy analysis and examined a range of restructuring policies which bore on the official creation and definition of new roles in primary teaching (see Troman, 1996b). This analysis of policy then acted as a guide to my 'naturalistic' (Ball, 1990b) sampling of cases within the case study school. In retrospect, what I was doing here was attempting to synthesise theory of the policy process with the emergent grounded empirical data.

The major considerations in sampling are considered to be, time, people and contexts (Ball, 1990b; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Woods, 1996b).

Time

Researching the school for eighteen months allowed the sampling of different temporal phases, that is, the school day, week and year. It was important to spend this length of time in the setting in order to attempt to penetrate the various 'layers of reality' in the school. However, the fieldwork did not involve me in being in the school every day during the period of the research. While immersion in the setting is to be encouraged, long uninterrupted periods of fieldwork can be counter-productive. Time is needed for writing fieldnotes, transcribing and analysing interview tapes, writing analytical memos and articles and consulting the literature (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). I would visit the school for one, two, sometimes three days each week. Different times of day, and days of the week, were chosen for these visits. I was originally asked by the senior management team if I would only visit on Wednesdays. After some months I departed from this schedule without asking permission (I thought they had probably forgotten). The first week I deviated from my 'normal' routine a member of the management team said to me, 'What are you doing

here ? It's not Wednesday'. Apart from this comment, no other participant seemed to either notice or object to my being in on days other than Wednesday. This approach gave a representative range with which to sample the routine events of school life. At other times, interesting, special, and even extraordinary events were attended. Examples included a special after school meeting of the senior management team, an after school drama production, a paper making exhibition by a visiting artist, an evening meeting for parents and governors, the visit of an HMI and staff INSET days.

People

The selection of people to interview or engage in conversation was determined largely by my analysis of policy and data already collected in the school. Again, I sought representativeness and therefore included Headteacher, Deputy Headteacher, members of the senior management team, classroom teachers and LSAs. The process of selection was, sometimes, on the basis of categories likely to be of analytical relevance. These were of two types, 'member identified' and 'observer identified' categories (Lofland, 1976). The former are 'typifications that are employed by members themselves, that is they are 'folk' categories that are normally encapsulated in the 'situated vocabularies' of a given culture' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.50). The teachers referred to members of the senior management team as 'cherries on the cake', the 'elite', the 'powers that be' and 'those that do'. This alerted me to a hierarchy in the school which professed to be non-hierarchical and led me to interview teachers on their perspectives of management and to interview senior management on their views of teachers and hierarchy. Observer identified categories are those which I constructed. For instance, I referred to teachers who taught at the school prior to the arrival of the new Headteacher as the 'old professionals' and staff appointed by the Headteacher as 'new professionals' (see Troman, 1996c and chapter 3). These two groups seemed to constitute two very different teacher cultures and therefore provided a basis of sampling for interview.

Contexts

In studying teacher perspectives it is well known that behaviour 'can differ markedly in different situations' (Woods, 1996b, p.43). Teacher behaviour has been found to change considerably between the settings of classroom and staffroom (Lacey, 1970; Keddie, 1971; Sharp and Green, 1975; Woods, 1979; Hammersley, 1981). It is important, therefore, to sample across settings within the school. I tried to observe in a range of contexts in order to be able to compare participant perspectives in different situations. The most commonly visited were whole school staff meetings in the school hall and classrooms, working party meetings in various classrooms, senior management meetings in the Headteacher's office, and break, lunchtimes and after school in the staffroom. I also made a few observational visits to classrooms when the teachers were teaching and accompanied the teachers to the pub, for lunch, on INSET days. One context I had not envisaged visiting at the outset of the research was the school sailing club which met one evening each week. Here I could develop relationships with some of the teachers and learn something of their perspectives in a context distant from the school (see the section on research role). I attended the club at the invitation of a female teacher who became a key informant. I encountered little difficulty in gaining access to these contexts with the exception of classrooms. Many of the teachers, as might be expected, were reluctant to let me in to observe lessons. The classroom perspectives and behaviours of teachers is, therefore, the least developed aspect of the research.

Triangulation was achieved by observing and recording the behaviours and perspectives of 'analytically significant' participants across a range of contexts at different times. So, for example, the Headteacher's perspectives were gleaned in interview in his office, when he was leading a staff meeting, in parents' meetings, in a broadcast on a local radio station, around the school in various contexts and, on one occasion, at the sailing club.

Gaining Access

A number of schools did ask me to visit to discuss the proposed research with the Headteacher or Headteacher with the senior management team (this was the first time that I was aware that primary schools had such management structures, and this knowledge aided theorisation). In the school in which I was eventually granted access, I was asked to come along one evening and 'sell' my research to the senior management team and Headteacher. I was asked to give a 'presentation' for twenty minutes on an outline of the proposed research and the demands it would place on the school. This meeting took place in the Headteacher's office and lasted for one hour. I had prepared a typed sheet of notes to circulate which acted as a research 'protocol'. On this were stated the aims of the research (rather generalised at this time), the methods I would be using, the time I would likely to be spending in the school, the possible commitments the staff would have to make to the project and what contribution I thought I could make to the life of the school. I was careful to stress that the resulting research report would not be evaluative or judgemental. My intention in proceeding in this way was to gain the 'informed consent' (Bulmer, 1982) of the participants and to be as open and honest as was possible given my generalised aims and knowing that the research focus would be likely to change once I was in the field. I was certainly not intending to engage in covert research and did not have a hidden agenda. In this meeting, as in all access negotiations, presentation of the researcher's self (Goffman, 1959) is a prime consideration. I chose to wear 'school teacherly' (Delamont, 1984; Boyle, 1996) clothes which were dark jacket and trousers and a collar and tie. This was, I found out at the meeting, exactly the form of clothing worn by the only two male teachers at the meeting, the Headteacher and Deputy Headteacher. As a middle aged male clothed in this way it seemed clear to me what kind of image I must be projecting to the predominantly female membership of the senior management team. Like Beynon (1983), I could not, obviously, adopt the role of naive novice researcher since the teachers, already aware of my appearance, probed my background in teaching and teacher education. I was, no doubt, projecting the image of 'expert' or 'critic' who was in their eyes, potentially, liable to start going round giving them advice on how to run the institution in which they worked (Hammersley and Atkinson,

1995). Sensing this, I did my best to stress my non-evaluative stance, express my ignorance of primary schooling, project the 'good guy' image (Lacey, 1976) and openly state whose side I was on, the teachers. I was informed following this meeting that they would be willing to let me research in the school and the Headteacher said what had 'swung it' for me was that the children would get something out of it. I was at first at a loss to understand what he meant, then I realised that in my research 'protocol' I had mentioned offering the teachers some help. As I was soon to find out, enlisting the support of outsiders, to help them with their intensified work, was a major preoccupation of the teachers.

Field Relations and Roles

In order to penetrate the various layers of reality (Blumer, 1976) the researcher must gain the confidence of participants. Developing field relations requires 'native wit' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) and some large measure of interpersonal skills. While the Headteacher and senior management team seemed fairly clear about the purpose of my research other staff had to engage in the necessary 'identity work' (Goffman, 1959) in order to cast me in certain identities. This was inevitably done on the basis of 'ascribed characteristics', for example age, gender, social class and ethnicity (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Identities attributed to me by individuals and groups in the school would form the initial basis on which to develop relationships. Of all the skills needed by the researcher sociability, while maintaining analytical distance, is, perhaps, the most important (Woods, 1996b). In the early days of fieldwork particularly, I would play down, indeed conceal, my personal beliefs and sympathies (Beynon, 1983) while talking to the teachers and LSAs. Like Beynon (1983), I would develop conversations on neutral ground and try and initiate conversations that were non-confrontational (Woods, 1979) and would reveal areas of interest the participants had, 'neutral topics', and try and maintain them for the duration of the fieldwork. With the Headteacher, I would discuss rugby and the progress of the national team. With the Maths co-ordinator, Coronation Street provided a constant focus of shared interest. One LSA had long conversations with me about her Open University psychology course and her experience as an Open University student. I found that I shared an interest in

sailing with a Year Four teacher and she invited me along to the school sailing club. With the Deputy Headteacher, cigarettes proved a 'neutral topic', as the only two smokers in a school in which smoking was forbidden, we would conceal ourselves behind a mobile classroom to enjoy a cigarette during breaks in INSET meetings. In this role, I was a non-confrontational 'fellow human who shared in the company of teachers' (Woods, 1979, p.262). Again, like Beynon, I was too old to be seen as a student so I tried to project the impression that I was a teacher turned lecturer and researcher, though at the same time avoiding the identity of 'expert' and 'critic'. Field relations were difficult to develop with some of the teachers. The ones I didn't get to know very well, were not interviewed formally.

Problems of access, field relations, researcher roles, data collection and analysis all run concurrently. One newly qualified teacher I wished to interview - this was important because she had recently changed career and I wanted access to her fresh perspective on teaching - was reluctant to be interviewed. However, one evening at the sailing club she asked if I would teach her how to sail. We set off in a small training boat, too small for two adults, and in a high wind with waves breaking over the bow the boat eventually took on too much water and sank. As we bobbed up and down in the water, buoyed up by our life jackets and awaiting help from the safety boat, we developed a relationship. Adversity had thrown us together. Following the incident our conversations became more frequent. The Headteacher mentioned the incident in a joking manner in a staff meeting. Soon a formal interview was possible. However, after all this groundwork, it was devastating to find out that I had forgotten to press the record button on the tape recorder at the start of the interview! The interview had to be repeated a month later and the quality of the data was much inferior on the second occasion.

With the knowledge that some researchers have reported that the participants may have viewed them as a 'spy' (Woods, 1979) it is important that the researcher try and assess how they are viewed by the researched. Then the data can be evaluated for its quality and validity. Some of the insights into participant perspectives on the researcher are gained by accident -

the odd word in conversation or perhaps overheard. One teacher on first meeting me thought that I was an educational psychologist who had come to carry out tests on the children. While noting these informal observations I also made a point of asking participants in interview how they viewed my presence in the school. One teacher thought I would provide a 'very neutral and objective account, unlike government sponsored research'. Another thought I would have gained a good overview of life in school, one which the teachers were unable to gain because they 'were too close to it all'. Yet another said she hadn't really noticed me around but had remembered me as the man who talked about Coronation Street. My unobtrusiveness and generally positive field relations were commented on by one teacher, at the end of my time in the school, who said, 'It's all gone very well really, you haven't rattled too many cages since you've been here'.

Although I had considerable experience of working in schools I experienced 'culture shock' on entering the primary school. In the initial stages of the research I had no choice but to adopt the role of the 'acceptable incompetent' (Lofland, 1971). It was only by 'watching, listening, asking questions, formulating hypotheses, and making blunders' that I could 'acquire some sense of the social structure of the setting and begin to understand the culture(s) of the participants' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.100). As a researcher I rejected the idea of being a 'complete' observer. The very nature of the primary school setting militates against this role (see King, 1978). I therefore attempted carrying out the research as a participant observer, a role involving 'comparative involvement, subjectivity and sympathy' (Junker, 1960, p.36). This was necessary in order to collect data unobtrusively and to minimise researcher reactivity (Hammersley, 1983). My participation took many forms from participating in staff discussions in the staffroom with total involvement to participating in staff meetings where, although participating in the sense of being physically present in the hall with the teachers, I would not contribute to the discussions and was therefore more in the observer role. As part of the access negotiation I said I would help the school by standing in for absent teachers in an emergency. I did not want to adopt the role of teacher as other researchers had done (D. Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970) but felt obliged to pay something back to the school. Standing in for teachers was also

another role in which to collect data. Indeed, I gained credibility in the eyes of one teacher who had been rather reticent where I was concerned when he discovered that I could supervise a class next to his with some proficiency. An interview followed this incident. As A. Hargreaves (1987, p.24) has written, 'it seemed only fair to offer some practical assistance, however small, in return for the school's readiness to accommodate my research interests. What kind of person would a social researcher be who felt no guilt nor the need to appease it in some way!'. In fact I often felt extreme pangs of guilt when on occasions I could have helped out more to give the teachers a little non-contact time but my research interests led me to observe or interview rather than cover classes. This was particularly acute when a number of teachers were absent and the school budget did not allow for supply teachers and teachers were sitting next to me in the staffroom proclaiming 'it's not fair' and directing their gaze at me. In retrospect, I would describe my main role as an 'involved observer' (Woods, 1979) in that the 'involvement was in the relationships entered into with the staff, an identification with the educative process and a willingness to go along with their perceptions of my role' (ibid. p.261) Moving roles in the research process, however, gave me access to different types of data and allowed me to discount their effects on the data. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.109).

While developing field relations and adopting roles is essential in interactionist research in order to gain data and view events from the participants' perspective, there is a danger. The researcher faces the dilemma of whether to become deeply involved with or maintain a distance from the participants (Woods, 1996b). A common peril for the ethnographer is the phenomenon of 'going native' (Paul, 1953). This involves total involvement and coming to totally identify with the position and views of the participants. While developing trust and rapport, indeed this degree of involvement is needed to get any data, I did not develop 'over rapport'. I remained 'humanly involved' and had the best of both involvement and distance (Woods, 1996b, p. 107) by employing techniques to aid validity, such as,

establishing comparative bases in and among groups, cultivating rapport with other groups, triangulation of methods to increase validity, reflectivity

outside the situation, the consideration of material *post hoc*, the writing up of field notes and diaries.

(ibid. p.62).

While I was more 'friendly' with some of the teachers than others I managed to maintain analytical distance and remained marginal in the school. Indeed, of the teachers (two 'old professionals') I spent most of my time with, one was a 'key informant' (Whyte, 1955) and got to know best were marginal to the institution themselves. In the role of 'marginal native' (Freilich, 1970) I could, while expressing sympathy and developing rapport, achieve a measure of analytical distance. However, living the marginal role has its costs. The position is not easy to maintain because shuttling back and forth between participant and researcher roles causes a 'recurring sense of insecurity' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.114). It is not always comfortable to live with a large degree of insecurity. Indeed, my field diary is replete with notes in which I record my daily fears that I will be 'discovered', then thrown out of the school. This was not particularly because I was holding deep secrets or doing anything underhanded which might be uncovered, but the insecurity which had arisen from the experience of my marginal position was producing a kind of paranoia. Like Shaffir (1991), I mistook the indifference of some of the participants as a negative reaction to my presence:

My suspicion that I was not fully welcomed resulted from a basic misinterpretation: I mistook an indifferent reaction for a negative one. As much as I wished for people to be curious and enthusiastic about my research, the majority could not have cared less. My research did not affect them, and they had more important matters to which to attend.

(cited in Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, pp. 78-79)

The marginal role does seem to be necessary to prevent feeling 'entirely at home':

from the perspective of the 'marginal' reflexive ethnographer, there can thus be no question of total commitment, surrender' or 'becoming'. There must always remain some part held back, some critical and intellectual 'distance'. For it is in the space created by this distance that the analytical work of the ethnographer gets done.

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.115)

Marginality has other strengths, Berger (1971) claims that to 'move into the margins is to experience ecstasy, but it is also to experience terror' (cited in Woods, 1996b, p.151).

Woods also invokes Aoki (1983) who 'commenting on his probing for the essence of what it means to be human', remarks that :

This kind of opportunity for probing does not come easily to a person flowing within the mainstream. It comes more readily to one who lives at the margin...It is, I believe, a condition that makes possible deeper understandings of human acts that can transform both self and world, not in an instrumental way, but in a human way.

(cited in Woods, 1996b, p.151)

Data Collection, Recording and Analysis

Data were collected by analysing official policy documents produced by HMI, DES, DfEE and OFSTED. I also consulted school documents, such as, staff meeting minutes, governors' meetings minutes, SDP, school brochure and INSET records. In addition to documentary analysis I undertook observation and interviewing. Thus triangulation of methods was enabled. Observations were recorded in a field note book, usually covertly (see the section on ethics below). I quickly learned that writing notes overtly around the school, particularly in classrooms, clearly, in the era of OFSTED, made the teachers very uncomfortable. Using a small tape recorder to record observational notes, again covertly,

was also useful. This demonstrates that, although I considered myself to be engaging in overt research, ethnographic enquiry, perhaps inevitably, fluctuates along an overt-covert continuum. Field notes were supplemented with jottings on scraps of paper (Woods, 1994). These data were recorded by writing up each evening, or as soon as possible after collection, into a fieldwork file. Once written up the fieldnotes were analysed and notes made on emergent themes, links made with the literature and issues to follow up and people to interview noted. A field diary was kept in which I recorded my thoughts and feelings on the process and progress of the research to aid reflexivity. Informal interview data, from conversations, were recorded in the form of brief, but suitably detailed written notes, again recorded covertly. Data from formal interviews were recorded using a small audio tape recorder and then transcribed. In the early stages of the research I transcribed many of the tapes myself. Though very time consuming I did get to know these data very well, this process also aided my memory so that throughout the research data could be recalled easily. Later in the research I had tapes professionally transcribed.

The main sources of data were observations, recordings of meetings (staff, working party, senior management team, teacher planning) and informal conversations. These were supplemented by formal interviews. The formal interviews tended to be carried out with participants who were both 'analytically significant' and with whom I had developed rapport. These interviews proved to be very time consuming. Quite apart from being usually of one hour duration, they involved a lot of groundwork in getting to know the participants, having to gain their consent for the interview and arranging a time and place for the interview to be held. Finding spare accommodation in which to carry out interviews was not easy, even in a large primary school. When interviews were held in classrooms at breaks, lunchtime or after school the sound quality of the recording was often contaminated by the sudden arrival of a netball game nearby, or a great deal of noise from the playground, on one occasion a choir singing 'Hark The Herald Angels Singing' in the hall, and the caretaker Hoovering around the table at which the interview was taking place. These events, plus many interruptions, also tended to divert the attention of the interviewer and interviewee in the course of the conversation. Eventually I gained permission to use a small medical room but

this was often subject to interruption with children seeking sticking plasters or wanting to lie down when feeling unwell. For one week it was unavailable for interviewing because a mass measles inoculation programme was in progress. Some senior staff requested to be interviewed in the headteacher's office when it wasn't in use. One strange feature I noted about these interviews was that, invariably, following the interview the caretaker was found to be standing outside the room. I concluded that either he was waiting to clean the room or that he was attempting to overhear the conversation. In the event this is one aspect I did not have time, or opportunity, to follow up, although one teacher once got up at the beginning of an interview to close the door of her classroom, saying, 'I don't want him (the caretaker) to hear this'.

Formal interviews with the teachers and Headteacher took place towards the end of my research fieldwork and the interview schedule took a loose structure. I wanted to cover broad areas which were of analytical interest to me, for instance, their perceptions of changes in their work, their involvement in management and decision-making, their perception of the culture(s) in the school and their thoughts on the school ethos. I added to this broad list of topics particular questions aimed at individuals on specific issues which, I thought, they were best placed to tell me about. Formal interviews with the LSAs took place at an early stage of the research merely for me to collect historical details about the school and catchment area. One LSA had been at the school since it opened in the mid 1960s and had lived in the area for the whole of her life. However, these interviews provided excellent leads into not only the development of the school but also changing management and teacher cultures and the LSAs adaptations to their newly defined work. This led to a research focus on changing work cultures in the school -see chapter 3). All of the formal interviews, with the exception of one, were tape recorded and transcribed. Contextual notes were made at each interview, also significant gestures, facial expressions etc. were noted.

The quality of data derived from the interviews, as might be expected, was variable. Some interviewees, the ones I had the best rapport with, were very forthcoming, and some not so. One LSA was so gripped with nerves that the interview was very brief and had to be

discontinued. One teacher did not want the interview taped but allowed me to take notes. I found this very difficult to do. It was virtually impossible, I discovered, to let the interview 'flow' by picking up points to develop and phrase the next question while concentrating on writing 'verbatim' notes extremely rapidly. A special needs advisory support teacher agreed to be interviewed and for the interview to be recorded. However, she asked me not to use any quotations from her interview in any subsequent written report. As she was 'bought in' from the LEA on a contract basis she felt that if anything she had said was construed negatively by the school she might not be 'hired' in the future.

Leads which arose in interview and analysis of transcripts were followed up in informal conversations with and observations of participants. There were some indications that some of the participants were using the formal interviews for personal purposes. A senior teacher, for example said it was a chance to reflect on her role in the school and how her work had changed and how she usually didn't have the time or opportunity to do this. An LSA thought it would be useful for the rest of the staff to know about how much work they did and how valuable to the life of the school they were. The Deputy Headteacher wanted my research report to project the voices of teachers to inform the policy makers (generals) what the teachers (troops in the front line) were going through. Two teachers (who insisted on being interviewed together) said (jokingly) that the Headteacher had told them that he was worried about what they would say about him in interview.

In one surprising incident, validation was provided, by accident, in the course of an interview. I had just asked the Deputy Headteacher if he, or the class teacher, prepared the work. He had just replied that he always planned himself in advance and since he knew the schemes of work of all of the teachers he could plan work which was integrated. Just as he had said this the interview was interrupted by another teacher coming into the room to hang up some mini-bus keys. As she was leaving she said that arrangements for him to 'cover' her class had been made for the following day. She said that 'as usual all the work and instructions about what to do will be left out for you on my table'!

Respondent validation was achieved by my cross checking accounts, and my interpretation of them, with participants in conversation. More formally, it involved my giving transcripts of interviews back to participants and asking for their comments. They usually said, 'fine' or 'O.K.' and some expressed surprise at how ungrammatical (too many 'ermms') they had been in interview. No participant asked for any changes to be made or asked for any information to be included or deleted after they had had a chance to reflect on the transcript. No analysed data or draft papers were given to participants. However, this would have been useful in terms of establishing the 'closeness of fit' between my perceptions, interpretation and analysis and the setting which they aimed to represent.

At first, data collection took place on a broad front. Like Hammersley (1984) I engaged in 'dredging' any data which seemed to have a bearing on my 'foreshadowed problem'. I do not believe it is entirely possible to 'wash clean' (Woods, 1996b) of theoretical presuppositions at this or any other stage of the research process. However, this does not preclude an open minded approach. This process generated a lot of data but it was very disorganized material. Field notes and transcriptions were analysed using theme analysis. The data were coded and themes and categories identified. At this stage I was not just collecting data but 'thinking about them and interacting with them' (Woods, 1994, p.73). While this stage did prove chaotic, it was a 'prolific seed-bed for ideas' (Nias,1991a). Following a central tenet of interactionism, I noted what seemed important to the participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) and concentrated on events in the school which would be most likely to shed light on the emerging issues. Three interrelated areas seemed important here, the teachers' responses to changed management cultures, the schools' struggle to implement new roles and responsibilities (particularly managerial roles) and the transition to becoming an 'autonomous' school (Caldwell and Spinks, 1988). Interest in these issues led me to the understanding that intensification was more multi-faceted than I had previously thought. This then was not simply 'dredging' for data and this early theorising involved me in referring to the literature in the area of policy sociology (Bowe et al. 1992), teacher cultures (A. Hargreaves, 1994a), and teacher adaptations and coping strategies (Woods, 1995a; Woods and Jeffrey, 1996b). At this time I engaged in

policy analysis (see Troman, 1996b) of official policy on teachers' work and roles. This analysis of policy, data and literature directed future data collection in the process of 'progressive focussing' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) to enable an 'escalation of insights' (Lacey, 1976). As a result of this process two 'observer identified' categories of teacher culture were constructed (see chapter 3).

The development of categories and typologies proceeded through comparative analysis. In this process 'instances were compared across a range of situations, over a period of time, among a number of people and through a variety of methods' (Woods, 1994, p.81). Comparisons were made within and outside the school by reference to the literature. In this way emerging categories guided the direction of the research in the process of 'theoretical sampling' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This process was, at the time, rather less clear cut and more chaotic than it sounds here. Woods neatly captures this stage of research:

The researcher becomes steeped in the data, but at the same time employs devices to ensure breadth and depth of vision. These include compilation of a field diary, a running commentary on the research with reflections on one's personal involvement; further marginal comments on field notes as thoughts occur on re-reading them; comparisons and contrasts with other material; further light cast by later discoveries; relevance to other literature; notes concerning validity and reliability; more *aides-memoire*; memos and notes, committing thoughts to paper on interconnections among the data, and some possible concepts and theories. Consulting the literature is an integral part of theory development. It helps to stimulate ideas and give shape to emerging theory, thus providing commentary on, and a stimulus to study.

(Woods, 1994, p.81)

Comparative analysis was aided by my not working totally in isolation, which is usually the case with this type of research, but by being a member of a research group. Although the

other three members were engaged in research embracing slightly different and substantive areas all of the projects involved research in primary schools and we shared a commitment to interactionist research and often the same theoretical frameworks eg. intensification theory. It was possible, therefore, to use these colleagues as 'sounding boards' (Woods, 1994) for emerging ideas expressed in analytical memos, outlines of papers and drafts of articles. Regular group discussions and communication by e-mail proved invaluable.

The length of time which I spent in the field also aided comparative analysis, since it led to greater immersion in the culture and more intense reflection and contributed to the study achieving more 'groundedness' (Woods, 1994).

Ethics

The research style of participant observation has been accused of being a form of 'spying' or 'voyeurism' (Woods, 1996b). The ethical dilemma for the researcher lies in making the private life of the institution public (ibid.). Interactionist research involves getting close to the participants in order to collect data and the participants need to feel that the researcher is a 'good guy' and is not going to 'do dirt on them with what he (sic) finds out' (Dean, 1954, p.233). There is often an implicit assumption that the researcher will do nothing to harm the participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Bulmer (1982) recommends gaining the 'informed consent' of participants at each stage of the research. However, it is practically difficult or indeed impossible to gain this level of consent at each stage of the research project. If it was sought every time access for an interview or observation was negotiated the research would probably grind to a halt (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Compounding this problem is that the research focus is likely to change as the work progresses. so no matter how open the researcher is at the commencement of the research it is difficult to keep going back to participants to inform them of these changes. This is particularly so if some of the findings are likely to prove uncomfortable to some of the participants (Woods, 1996b).

In my research, though the Headteacher and senior management team had given their 'informed consent' at the outset of research, many of the other teachers, I am sure, had very little idea of the purpose of the research or their ethical position as participants. This supports Burgess' (1985) point that it is, perhaps, impossible for research to be completely overt. While I offered promises of confidentiality and anonymity with transcript material it might have been inferred that this was the only data I would be using in writing research report. While it might have been guessed that I would use observational and conversational data, this was at no stage stated by me to any of the participants. So, the issue here is what do the researcher and participants call data (and how do these definitions differ), and who owns the data?

During the course of the research I became aware of micro-political processes in the school. For example, I discovered some very sensitive staff issues. Obviously making public data gathered in informal and formal contexts on this issue would prove embarrassing to both of the participants concerned. I felt strong pressure to use the data as it provided a vital part of my analysis of the social organisation of the school and the micro-politics of the institution (chapter 3). Aware that 'competent fieldwork needs a clear conscience' (Dingwall, 1980, p.888), I experienced 'agonies of conscience and a personal crisis' (Woods, 1996b, p.66). I resolved to use the data, following Burgess' (1985) advice that it is implicit in research relationships that unless a participant has expressly forbidden the use of data then it can be made public. In the event, I decided only to use data on this sensitive issue which was derived from formal interviews, and not to use that gained in conversations. I was also reassured by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) when they argue that participants are rarely harmed since research reports are anonymised, as they are in this account.

Leaving the Field

Leaving the field can prove to be as stressful and fraught with difficulties as entering it (Shaffir et al. 1980). Researchers can form relationships with the participants which are hard to break. Inevitably there are leads to be followed up even in the final stages of the

research and some self-compulsion is felt to tie up loose ends and finally get to the bottom of things. I felt, too, that I did not have enough data, even though the piles of partly or non-analysed data were mounting. These feelings and pressures are sufficient to prolong the stay in the field. However, in my research, many of these problems were solved for me by one of the powerful gatekeepers who had granted me access, the Headteacher. He suggested, very politely, that my time in the school was coming to an end. The school was experiencing a major upheaval in the form of a new building programme which involved widespread disruption in the school. Classes had to be moved, in rotation, to phase in with the building work. This often meant whole classes being taught in the hall and corridors. Additionally, the teachers were under enormous pressures from their routine work of teaching the National Curriculum, conducting tests and assessments, holding parent surgeries and organising residential visits. Clearly my presence was proving to be a further burden on the school, so the decision to stay or leave was, to a large extent, taken out of my hands.

In the next chapter I consider how official policies on the restructuring of teachers' work and their workplace impacted on the case study school. I focus on management's attempts to introduce new forms of work and changed conceptions of professionalism, and the responses of the teachers to their changed work and management's expectations of them.

CHAPTER THREE

Restructuring and Reculturing: The Micro-Politics of Changing Teachers' Work

Introduction

It was argued in chapter 1 that 'good teachers' have been officially redefined as collaborative professionals who can undertake flexible working in developing their subject expertise in the school. Additionally their work has been restructured to include tasks which go considerably beyond classroom teaching. In this chapter we see the attempts of a new Headteacher to restructure the work of the teachers in line with official definitions of teaching. This restructuring also involved reculturing as the Headteacher attempted to transform the occupational culture of the teachers from one characterised by individualism to a collaborative form.

I employ here a micro-political perspective which aims to be 'sensitive to the daily dynamics of social influence in schools' (Blase, 1991). Micro-politics refers to

the use of formal and informal power by the individuals and groups to achieve their goals in organisations. In large part, political actions result from perceived differences between individuals and groups coupled with the motivation to use power to influence and/or protect. Although such actions are consciously motivated, any action, consciously or unconsciously motivated, may have political 'significance' in a given situation. Both conflictive actions and processes are part of the realm of micro-politics. Moreover, macro- and micro-political factors frequently interact.

(ibid. p. 11)

In using the micro-political perspective I view the primary school as an organisation which conforms with Blase's description of schools generally, they

are complex, unpredictable social organisations that are extremely vulnerable to a host of powerful external and internal forces. They exist in a vortex of government mandates, social and economic pressures, and conflicting ideologies associated with school administrators, teachers, students and parents.

(ibid. p.1)

However, the 'vortex' of pressures impacting on primary school organisation has often been overlooked in the accounts of organisation theorists. They have striven to construct theoretical models of primary school organisation which are distanced from the empirical reality of primary schooling and its macro and micro-political context (see for example, Handy and Aitkin, 1986). Alternatively, Hitchcock (1980) has applied ethnographic research methodology to the study of the social organisation of an urban primary school. Hartley (1985a) viewed the primary school of his research as a classical bureaucracy. Pollard (1987) has described and analysed primary school 'institutional bias', and through his development of the conception of the primary school as a 'negotiated order', has confirmed the place of staff micro-politics on the research agenda. However, the whole area of primary school formal and informal organisation remains under-researched. Often the tendency of studies has been to ignore the concepts and insights offered by the sociology of organisations, the sociology of work and the grounded theorising of micro-political studies (Ball, 1987). This neglect has led some writers to claim much work on education and primary schooling to be parochial (Shilling, 1993; Brehony, 1995). Recent research on secondary schools, however, has addressed itself to some of the central issues in organisation theory. These are the impact of the external environment on the structure and processes of the organisation (interaction of macro and micro) and how policies are resisted, mediated or complied with in the occupational culture. This work on secondary teachers' adaptations to education policy has developed organisation theory by the use of grounded studies, using qualitative methods and the imaginative use of multiple ethnographies (Ball, 1987; Bowe et al. 1992). Micro-politics provides,

a conceptual frame for the analysis of both the processes and outcomes of school reform. The nature of the school as an organisation and the realities and meaning of organisational change are the outcomes of traceable micro-political processes. These outcomes are not unconstrained, but neither are they predetermined

(Ball and Bowe, 1991, p.44)

Teachers' work culture appears to be changing from one characterised by individualism to more collaborative forms (Pollard et al. 1994; Webb & Vulliamy, 1996). At the same time, however, there are signs of more top-down managerialist cultures, with headteachers using their power to implement reforms and genuine collaboration with teachers being eroded (Pollard et al. 1994). We lack, however, any micro-political studies of the primary school which reveal the struggles and strategies involved in the changes, and the perspectives of the actors participating in them.

In this chapter, therefore, I explore change in the organisation and culture of one primary school which had collaboration as a central aim. I am concerned with developments in the school during the period 1986 - 1994. Here, I focus on the Headteacher's attempts to restructure the teachers' work and transform the school culture from one characterised by teachers' individualist practices, to one in which flexible and collaborative working and whole-school decision-making was institutionalised. The teachers' responses and adaptive strategies are described. The chapter is organised in two parts. Part 1 looks at the changes which took place on the arrival of a new Headteacher in 1986. Part 2 traces the Headteacher's development of restructured work, organisation and a culture of collaboration.

Part 1: Restructuring and Reculturing

Managerialism and the Control of Work

As I argued in chapter 2, it is a difficult task to try to assess the impact of a single reform measure on teachers (Wallace, 1990; Bowe et al. 1992; Ball, 1994) since many different policies interact and interrelate in complex ways. However, changes in the mode of school management and the control of teachers' work are, arguably, amongst the most significant measures impacting on primary schools. As argued in chapter 1, introduction of the reforms has in education, as in other public sector institutions, like health, relied upon an increasing faith of central government in the role of management to introduce radical change by restructuring organisations, work cultures and institutional values. Mac an Ghaill (1992) describes the introduction into schools of new forms of management and management strategies for controlling teachers. These facilitate new modes of surveillance of teachers' work: the evaluation of teachers' work through teacher appraisal; and the introduction of business and commercial management techniques and values into education. Ball argues, that the increasing control over teachers and teachers' work,

seeks to close down many of the areas of discretion previously available to them. In doing this it brings into being a massively over-determined system of education. The National Curriculum and National Testing provide the belt and braces of central control, and the market offers a further carrot-and-stick mode of constraint. Embedded in all this are confused and contradictory views of the 'new teacher', ranging from the innovative and competitive 'petit-professional' to the harassed reactive teaching technician.

(Ball, 1990a, p.214)

It cannot be assumed that the policies which promote stronger and more pervasive managerial control of teachers always have their intended effects (Ball, 1990a). Mac an Ghaill's (1992) empirical work demonstrates strikingly that teachers, within a secondary

school, position themselves towards, and respond differently to, new management cultures, with only the 'New Entrepreneurs' fully complying for ideological and instrumental career interests. In the context of the primary school, Woods and Jeffrey (1996a, p.40) argue that teachers have developed a new 'professional discourse' to combat that of professional managerialism. Creative primary teachers are using this discourse as a mode of resistance to both the managerial control of their work and their own increasing involvement in managerial aspects schooling.

It seems clear from the literature that the teachers' responses to new management require a complex reading. This chapter seeks to understand the experience of the teachers at Meadowfields during a time of rapid restructuring of their work. My analysis follows Lawn (1988 and 1991) on the social construction of professionalism in the primary school and Mac an Ghaill (1992) on the restructuring of work and teachers' occupational cultures in the comprehensive school. Firstly, the argument concerning the social construction of professionalism needs developing.

The Social Construction of Professionalism

I am not considering professionalism here as an absolute or an ideal. Rather, it is seen as a socially constructed, contextually variable and contested concept (Ozga and Lawn, 1981). Understanding professionalism in this sense we must be sensitive to actor's meanings, interpretations and definitions of the situation. Professionalism is defined by management and expressed in its expectations of workers and the stipulation of tasks they will perform. Expectations arise in the teacher's role-set, which is comprised of policy makers, headteacher, colleagues, parents and pupils. Among these, policy makers and headteachers are likely to be powerful definers of the teacher role. In the primary school, headteachers have a great deal of power and authority (Coulson, 1978) and, therefore, are arguably the most powerful reality definers (Riseborough, 1981). However, as definitions of the situation vary, teachers may not wholly adopt managerially dominant constructions of professionalism but will develop their own. This will be evident in discourse and in action

and is the basis for resistance. For example, in the recent testing boycott, the State promoted definitions of professionalism which saw the teacher as a classroom administrator of externally devised tests. The teachers however, supported by their professional organisations, countered this view with a construction of the professional as a teacher who was capable of devising, carrying out and acting upon their own assessments of children's work. In this instance, non-complementary expectations and definitions of professionalism resulted in the teachers' national resistance, in the form of a boycott, of legislated testing.

Resistance is of course seen in other industries, at times of rapid change, as workers cling on to their definitions of skill and professionalism in the face of restructuring. Managers in the National Health Service have recently been criticised by the Audit Commission for allowing doctors to maintain outmoded constructions of their work and work practices and therefore resist reform and restructuring. This mode of resistance is for the Left, worker defence of skills, for the Right, Luddism.

Background

During my time in the school I had many conversations with the Headteacher and staff about the school's past and how they had perceived it to change, as an organisation, since they began working there. In interview the teachers and LSA's when asked about changes in their work since the ERA claimed that, in their experience, the changes which occurred following the appointment of a new Headteacher in 1986 were just as significant. Analysis of the perspectives of teachers and LSA's who worked at the school prior to 1986, and who are still employed there, revealed a restructuring of work, management and definition of professionalism. These transformations in management definitions of professionalism and teachers' work had not been achieved unproblematically. They were resisted by the teachers.

What then was teachers' work and constructions of professionalism like in the school prior to 1986?

Teachers' Work Prior to 1986

Mr Malcolm Bradley, was Headteacher of the school, from its opening in the mid-sixties, until Easter 1986. Under his headship the school was popular and had a good reputation in the community for good discipline, traditional values and high academic standards. Although the architecture of the school (purpose built open plan) lent itself to a particular philosophy, ethos and pedagogy, the school was in fact organised on quite different educational values. It was divided into three vertically grouped units of infants, lower juniors and upper juniors, with each unit having a team leader who received a post of responsibility allowance. A new Deputy Headteacher (the present Deputy Headteacher) was appointed in the year preceding Mr Bradley's retirement. The Deputy Headteacher taught a class of lower juniors. The curriculum was organised on a secondary model of subject specialist teaching with the children moving around teachers for twenty five minute periods, lesson changes were denoted by the school bell. The staff would teach their specialism(s) to all of the classes in their unit. For example, an infant class would be taught by one teacher for reading, another for number, yet another for topic and so on. Teacher/pupil relationships were extremely formal with children having to stand at their desks when the teacher entered. All of the children and staff addressed the Headteacher as Mr Bradley (rather than Malcolm) and he referred to himself as the 'Headmaster'. The school was run on 'regimental lines', like a 'military establishment' with all decisions being made by Mr Bradley. It was a 'top-down' management model. Scale posts were few and were allocated to the 'team leaders' of each of the units. These teachers had some power but were largely conduits for the Headteacher's curriculum and organisational decisions and had attained scale-posts for reasons of seniority and organisational responsibility more than curriculum responsibility. Mr Bradley maintained surveillance and control of the curriculum by touring classrooms and correcting teachers - 'We don't do Art in the mornings here.' (comment to a teacher found doing Art at the 'wrong' time of day) - 'We don't do things that way here.' (comment to a teacher trying to introduce more informal teacher/pupil relationships). On some occasions the Deputy Headteacher was instructed to 'have a word' with an erring teacher. Despite the extent of pedagogic and curricular control the teachers enjoyed a 'relative' classroom autonomy in

selecting curriculum knowledge. Collaborative work between the teachers did not take place. Even trying to 'borrow' resources from a colleague was out of the question. Collaboration between ancillaries and teachers was not established for a strict division of labour existed between teachers and classroom assistants. The work of these ancillaries was restricted to making tea, cleaning paint brushes, pouring paints and preparing displays, while the teachers worked in isolation in their classrooms being solely responsible for teaching and learning. Parents were kept at arms length, indeed 'discouraged from coming into the school.'

Mr Bradley, his management culture and the expectations he seems to have had for the teachers and their work, clearly belongs to the 'headmaster tradition' in English schooling (Grace, 1995, p.76). He operated a 'robust autocracy' (ibid.) and articulated a discourse central to which were notions of 'my school', 'my teachers' (Alexander, 1984). This was a tradition which maintained a 'powerful culture of school leadership' and in which historically,

the position of headteacher has commanded a measure of deference (mediated by school level) and its association with hierarchical leadership has been an obstacle to the development of more democratic and participative forms of school governance.

(Grace, 1995, p.76)

Dismantling the Pyramid: The Restructuring of Work and the Demise of the 'Old Professionals'

The present Headteacher, James Davies, commenced his headship of the school at Easter 1986. After spending a term getting to know the staff and school he began to institute changes in September 1986. His plans for change were translated into school policy for staff training and put to the governors. He wrote in his 'Inservice Programme 1987-88' that his main aims were;

- (1) To get teachers to take responsibility for their own class in all aspects of the curriculum for an extended period of at least one year.
- (2) To get some established written aims and objectives put together by all the staff and involving the governing body.
- (3) To dismantle the pyramid system of management and allow greater involvement in decision-making by all the staff.
- (4) To put together some coherent policies for curriculum areas - Language, Maths, etc.
- (5) To strive for greater commitment to, and involvement in, curriculum development through inservice training and by giving individuals responsibility for curriculum leadership.
- (6) To come to an agreement to evaluate every stage of our progress and also our day to day classroom practice.

The first major change was the introduction of generalist class teaching, with each teacher being responsible for teaching the whole curriculum to their class. Since this was a considerable shift from former practice for the majority of the staff, James anticipated problems and asked the teachers to complete a weekly evaluation of their teaching work to submit to him.

Year teams were now required to plan the curriculum together and submit evidence of planning to the Headteacher. Regular after-school staff meetings were scheduled in which organisational and 'domestic' issues were discussed but also meetings began the process of whole-school planning and joint curriculum decision-making. The first of these working party meetings involved the teaching staff and governors in collaboratively devising aims and objectives for the school. After initial whole-school working parties a number of smaller working groups were formed to discuss curriculum issues and formulate and develop school policy. This eventually led to the formulation of the SDP. Regular school-based In-service Education and Training (INSET) sessions were introduced. This development was launched

by a residential INSET week-end at an hotel. The week-end was financed by the school and staff attendance was compulsory. The school-based sessions which followed involved the teachers working with educationalists and LEA advisors, some with international reputations.

The work of the classroom assistants was restructured. They were now referred to as LSAs and were engaged in learning support, rather than low level domestic tasks. They were involved in joint planning with teachers, and received training and qualifications for the new role. They were discouraged by the Headteacher from adopting their former roles of teamakers and paintbrush cleaners, they were now to be quasi-professionals. There was a relaxation of social relations in the school. All staff used the Headteacher's first name on informal occasions. The Headteacher encouraged a relaxed ethos in teacher/teacher and teacher/pupil relationships. Parents were encouraged into the school, as partners in the education of children, through various 'open' school and home-school links initiatives.

First attempts at teacher collaboration and involvement in whole-school decision-making took place in after school staff meetings:

So I first of all got all the governors and all the teachers together one night in the hall. I asked the chair to consider with the teachers, pairing up and group work really and brainstorming to consider where were we going to go and how were we going to go about it, who would want to take part in it and what we believed in as a school.

(James, Headteacher)

However the democratic involvement of staff proved difficult since it was extremely difficult for 'sixteen people to arrive at a decision' and there was growing resistance by a group who formed the majority of the staff at that time, who I term the 'old professionals', to the way the school was being restructured. Clearly these moves represented an attempt to restructure

the work of teachers. These new tasks and role expectations embodied definitions of professionalism and types of skill which many of the old staff (some of the teachers had worked at the school for twenty years) either lacked or had never been asked to demonstrate before. What then was their response to the restructuring of their work and these changed definitions of professionalism and skill?

With the introduction of the changes came the contestation of control over work, definitions of professionalism and the management of skill. Resisting restructuring involved modes of secondary adjustment. This is (following Goffman, 1968) defined by Riseborough as,

an arrangement in which a member employs unauthorised means or obtains unauthorised ends, or both, thus getting around 'assumptions' as to what he (sic) should do and get and hence what he should be. Secondary adjustments represent ways in which the individual stands apart from the role and the self that were taken for granted for him (sic) by the institution

(Riseborough, 1993, p171)

For Riseborough, secondary adjustment is about 'the winning of space':

...teachers can create, through a range of individual and collective 'contained' or 'disruptive' creative strategies, an empirically rich unofficial underlife to official policy intentions. Such practices can include such things as 'making do', 'working the system', 'winning territory', 'informal social control', 'removal activity', 'contempt', 'cynicism', 'ritual insubordination', 'overdetermination', 'gripping' and 'bitching' (sic), 'overcommitment', 'mutiny' etc (see Goffman, 1968).

(Riseborough, 1993, p171)

According to participant accounts, resisting restructuring involved the following strategies:

- Much complaining to the Headteacher and amongst themselves in the staffroom about having to attend lengthy staff meetings after school. One teacher had for many years a weekly appointment at a hairdresser's shortly after school and at the proposed time of the new staff meetings. She, therefore, told the Headteacher she was unwilling to attend staff meetings if they occurred on this day.
- Some of the staff challenged the right that the Headteacher had to demand weekly evaluations of their work. Some thought that what happened in the classroom had nothing to do with him.
- One of the teachers complained to the Headteacher about the requirement that the teaching staff spend a week-end in a hotel for INSET in order to discuss curriculum issues. This had been 'the last straw' for this teacher who eventually left the school.
- Some of these teachers adopted wrecking tactics by disrupting the business and discussions of policy working groups by 'obviously not wanting to be there' and not discussing issues seriously. They disrupted whole-school staff-meetings by objecting to trivial points and quarrelling over 'things which really weren't important'. Some of them quarrelled in the staffroom about 'meaningless' things. This behaviour disrupted formal and informal collaborative work and ensured the maintenance of the old culture of non-cooperation in the face of requests that they share their expertise and resources.
- Certain 'old professionals' complained to 'key' members of staff knowing it would 'get back' to the Headteacher. One sought the support of a relative who was an LEA advisor for the school.
- One 'old professional', who had been unwilling to support any of the changes, continued with his 'old' practices in isolation until being cautioned by an HMI during an inspection. It had to be pointed out to him that his practice was out of line with the school policies.

James felt, at this point, that cultural change would require more direct intervention on his part. An early initiative was to find a way of removing a powerful symbol of the old organisational culture, the school bell. Under the old regime, this had signalled the end of lessons every 25 minutes and the whole school moved to different teachers:

After the first month I just couldn't cope with the bell any longer. I called a staff meeting and I said I was actually going to stop the bell. Then, of course, there was a huge resistance from the older members of staff because they wouldn't know when it was time to do all the things they had to do. I said they could take the decision if they wished and it was a narrow majority that they decided in favour of the bell. We did have a vote on it because I was confident that they wouldn't want the bell. I was wrong.....Anyway I got a fire officer in a week later and he told me, the bell shouldn't be rung because it was a fire hazard. So I went to the following staff meeting and said that it wouldn't be rung and they threw their arms in the air and I said, 'Well, it's not my decision'. So everybody had to have clocks on the wall and watches and we went from there. But that was the first thing I did that a group of them didn't like, because they felt it was almost devious that I brought this fire officer in. Actually he was a mate of mine so I knew that he'd say what he'd said.

(James, Headteacher)

The school bell affair shows how James, to use his own words daily 'walks the tightrope' between staff involvement in decision-making and strong cultural management. The staff were not afforded the opportunity to engage in a dialogue about or vote on whether to have the generalist teaching organisation. They were given some involvement in the relatively minor issue concerning the bell. Beneath a rhetoric of democracy James was quite clear that his desire for cultural change would be satisfied:

I had to really reorganise the attitude of the staff and I had to bring in my new ideas. It was about re-educating the majority of the staff. And a lot of them didn't want it because they had been here a long time and they were coming up to retirement. They weren't really interested in having staff meetings and inservice training and all that sort of thing. They didn't see the point in that. Everything was going swimmingly before and they didn't see the point in trying to change it all.

James still walks the tightrope when he decides which staff meetings and working party groups to attend, choosing when to stay away to let staff have a say on 'safe' issues, and when to attend to provide some positive steering. During eighteen months' fieldwork in the school, the staff were not once observed voting on issues.

Being unable to determine the nature and direction of organisational and cultural change, or to survive using strategies of 'secondary adjustment', the 'old professionals' 're-routed' (Woods, 1995a). Many of the 'old' staff sought and obtained jobs in other schools, some gained early retirement, one teacher a 'breakdown' pension, and others retirement at the normal age. These teachers had expressed their self-determination to persist with their definition of skill and professionalism by seeking other roles in other schools in the system or if unable to continue then leaving schooling altogether. Although these were the coping strategies of the staff at one school, and could be regarded as localised micro (personal), and meso (organisational) level phenomena, it does seem that official policy, at the macro level, at this time in the mid eighties, had anticipated the impact of organisational change, and new managerialism on 'old professionals', within the national system.

Woods in an analysis of 'Teaching Quality' (DES, 1983) points out a policy recommendation to,

improve the match between teacher expertise and subjects taught' and 'raise professional standards by retaining and encouraging the best and most

committed teachers by making full use of management tools such as premature retirement, redeployment and, if necessary, compulsory redundancy in the interests of achieving a good match between their teachers' qualifications and skills and the needs of teachers in the schools.

(ibid. paragraph 8 - cited in Woods 1996a, p.28)

Woods follows with a discussion of 'Better Schools' (DES 1985) which,

....continued with the related quests to 'expose the heart of good teaching' (ibid.paragraph 135) and to manage the teaching force 'encountering professional difficulties being identified and counselled and, where that did not work, being considered for early retirement or dismissal. (ibid. paragraph 180).

(cited in Woods, 1996a, p. 28).

It is difficult, when comparing the empirical reality of events at the case study school with policy prescriptions such as this, to avoid the temptation of producing accounts of schooling which stress structure at the expense of agency. However, in the implementation process policy is complied with, mediated or resisted and unintended consequences abound.

The 'old' professionals were replaced by 'new' professionals, teachers more able to function in the restructured and recultured school. As James explained:

What I had to do was to start to appoint people who would look at things in such a way that they saw their role as part of a team and that the team was the whole school together. It wasn't just a question of me making all the decisions but that they would have a role to play in that sort of thing. We looked at appointing people with good backgrounds and experience in curriculum areas but also proven leadership skills and working within groups

and teams at other schools. The governors, by this time, grasped the fact that I was saying 'no this isn't my job its our job'. Its a team thing and you're part of the team as well because we've got to do this.

The culture of individualism (Alexander, 1984) of the old regime worked against the formation of a culture of collaboration (Nias et al. 1989). Although James' micro-political strategies may have produced a culture of 'contrived collegiality' (A. Hargreaves, 1994a) initially, which was 'controlled, regulated and predictable in its outcomes', this type is 'frequently used to implement system initiatives or the principal's preferred programs' (p. 135). However, a more genuine informal form of collaboration later arose. Collaborative cultures comprise 'relatively spontaneous, informal and pervasive collaborative working relationships among teachers which are both social and task-centered in nature' (ibid. p.135)

As a member of the senior management team, Sarah (English and Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator), explained, (in the 'old' culture) 'there were individuals who would just shut the door and go their own sweet way'. Indeed, one of the teachers had experienced a good deal of conflict in the school previously:

the fundamental basis was they didn't trust me and that's awful because if you have that feeling that your professional judgement is in question, you do make mistakes. You make more mistakes when you're threatened.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

Frances also was at odds with Mr. Bradley's domineering style of leadership, educational values and his expectations of her:

Its the way I had to teach which was the awkward part for me. Because I liked an intimate relationship with my children, you know, I'd sit on the carpet at the beginning of the day, talk through what we were going to do,

plan it and off we would go. I would usually write up reminders on the board and if there was a lesson to be done during the day I would take a group out and work with them. But you couldn't do that with Mr. Bradley. The children had to stand at their desks before you started the day, and there was no sort of closeness I could feel between me and the children. It was impossible, you had to be so formal with them. A lot of it was written notes on the board and if you asked the children they wouldn't know what they had written half the time. It was just bad practice and totally alien to me. I was just out of college, newly qualified as a mature student and I came bouncing in here full of energy and new ideas, and he just didn't want that. The message was you must improve the situation, and I was extremely sad and very much penalised for it. I was bullied really. I mean it just so happened to coincide with my marriage break up as well. It was very unfortunate, I lost three stone in ten weeks'.

Teacher memories of lack of collaborative relationships in working with the 'old professionals' often concerned the use of resources:

I would say, 'Do you have any red card in the cupboard?' and they would say, 'No it's mine, I've ordered it and only I can use it, because I need it in September'. So there was a resistance to sharing anything'

(Sarah, English and Special Educational Needs (SEN) Co-ordinator , Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

Well in the days of Mr Bradley you had your allocation of stock. You were given so many rubbers, so many soaps, and If you ran out that was tough. Now you say (to colleagues), 'Can I have half a dozen pencils?' and people just say, 'Help yourself'. So there is a more caring, sharing attitude amongst

the staff, which is good.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

Teachers attested to the quality of collaboration in the school since James became Headteacher:

I mean it works informally because the relationships are such that you can go and talk to people. So you have respect for other people's professionalism. And you know if you need something you know who to go to and you know you will get the kind of response you need to have. and you know the other person will give the time to help you. I think its mutual trust and respect.

(Mary, Humanities Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher, Senior Manager)

Within our situation, with the sort of support we give each other, I think its possible (implementing the National Curriculum). If we hadn't that sort of situation I don't think we could have done it.

(Sarah, English and SEN Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

I work with a team that is absolutely brilliant. We just work well together. I think in all my teaching career this has been the best team I have ever worked with. It's just that everybody works together there is none of this - 'I'm doing this and not telling anybody about it' - it's just a big exchange of ideas and sharing of things. You ought to see us after school having a cup of tea and a gossip. It's not just gossip as in relating what's happening in the rest of the world - but what is happening in our class that day, and who is having problems. So if you have got a child with a problem that perhaps somebody else would have an idea about, or suggest ways to tackle it. Somebody will

say, 'I used so and so and it wasn't brilliant'. If somebody has a worksheet or something we automatically share them. It saves you such a lot of time.

(Pat, Reception/Year One Teacher)

My life is transformed. I feel so different. It's just lovely. I mean it's just such a pleasure. It's hard work but you know we all get on. All the people we work with get on so well together. Everybody is very co-operative and very sharing.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

However, in this new culture not all of the relationships were harmonious. Frances, who previously had experienced conflictual relationships, was aware that there were teachers in the school that she could not work collaboratively with. But in a large school finding somebody or group to collaborate with was easier than in a small school:

It's more difficult in a little school I would think. I'm sure that if you had a staff of five or six and you really didn't get on with two or three of them you'd be in trouble. It would be very uncomfortable - whereas here you can move to an extent.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

While James acknowledged that 'there's a lot of good collaboration in that people share and are willing to ask for support - he also was aware that the composition of year teams was important to fostering collaboration:

Lillian and Karen sharing that open plan terrapin made things work superbly, excellently. They planned well together and collaborated well together - but

they get on well together. Now I could put two other teachers in there and it would be a total disaster. I wouldn't even attempt it.

(James, Headteacher)

There is an indication here that the collaborative culture hadn't, in James' words, 'just fallen from the sky'. James' cultural management was evident in:

I don't think it would be a shock to people to be told that it's expected that they do collaborate and work together. Most of the things we do move in that sort of culture. This was the culture I laid down here when I came and removed the top-down system. So I think the culture of collaborative working has been set.

Subsequent strategies for developing this culture involved the appointment of like-minded colleagues (some of whom the Headteacher had worked with in the past in other schools) who were given curriculum responsibility, scale posts, and formed a prototype senior management team. These teachers were viewed by the Headteacher as change agents (Hoyle, 1986) who would act as exemplars of his preferred practice. In terms of them changing the culture of the school the Headteacher referred to one of these teachers as the 'first chisel in the rock'. They were clearly the sort of appointments that Gouldner (1965) described as 'strategic replacements'. Teachers in the senior management team had not only curriculum responsibility but also supervisory responsibility. Some curriculum responsibility (for co-ordinating a subject and how it is taught) was allocated to all teachers, senior managers had, therefore, both subject specialist and supervisory responsibilities. Members of the senior management team were given responsibility for the review and monitoring of the implementation of school policy. The school participated in an LEA pilot scheme of partial devolved funding prior to the compulsory introduction of LMS following the ERA. Individual teacher and LSA job definitions were introduced. A teacher appraisal scheme was piloted. Governors were encouraged into the school and involved in collaborative planning

and management. Parents too were involved through the creation of class associations. The development of home-school links eventually acquired a national and international reputation and attracted funding from the Royal Society of Arts.

The teachers were now required to be more flexible than they had been previously. Some of the teachers who had been at the school for a number of years had always taught the same year group in the same classroom. Now they were required to move through the year groups and gain experience of teaching the whole age range. Flexibility was also evident in responsibility allowances. Whereas previously post holders had permanent allowances for reasons of seniority or organisational reasons, for example, display, now allowances were increasingly on a temporary basis (one or two years in duration) and tied to particularly pressing curriculum initiatives, for example, introducing Science in the early years. Once the initiative was in place, the allowance was transferred to another teacher and curriculum priority.

'New' Professionalism

It is possible to discern, from the restructuring of the teachers' work, changed constructions of skill and professionalism. The 'new professionals' were, perhaps, the teachers best able to fulfil management's expectations and to survive professionally by:

- accepting a flattened hierarchy in which the Headteacher, although powerful and influential, was also a member of the team. The new management discourse was evident in not only the structure of a 'senior management team' but also the idea itself;
- being able to be a generalist class teacher but also have some curriculum responsibility, such as subject consultant, which involved a staff supervisory/managerial function;
- accepting a role involving the surveillance of colleague's work through systems of monitoring and appraisal - also the self-surveillance involved in reviewing work;

- engaging in flexible work which demanded flexible roles;
- accepting that evaluation, appraisal and multiple-accountability as the ways of raising educational standards;
- having interpersonal skills to enable relaxed relations with other teachers and children;
- being willing and able to participate in collaborative work with colleagues;
- being able to take part in whole-school collegial decision-making by having esoteric educational knowledge acquired in out of school INSET sessions;
- recognising that teaching and learning is a collaborative and co-operative process involving teachers, parents, LSAs and governors who are partners in education;
- viewing classroom teaching as only part of the work of the teacher, the other (larger) part being managerial and administrative tasks;
- demonstrating commitment to the school and education by attending out of school meetings and training and accepting longer hours of work;
- working to specific but comprehensive job descriptions (Lawn, 1988).

The restructuring of the organisation and of teachers' work was achieved by James with his introduction of a new managerial culture into the school. He represented

a new managerial professionalism transplanted from commercial settings and fostered by training courses and proselytising texts.

(Ball, 1994, p.89)

In this type of management culture the headteacher is more 'chief executive' than 'leading professional' (Hughes, 1973). In this role, financial and administrative concerns are to the fore. Additionally, teachers, their work and culture are seen simultaneously as the objects of management and in need of management (Ball, 1994). This restructuring is necessary for the introduction and implementation of the reforms. Part of this task involves management in having to legitimate the new controls and gain the consent and compliance of the teachers. Strategies to enable this, however, are sometimes unsuccessful.

The Rise of the 'New Professionals'?

At the time of the research, in a staff of seventeen teachers, only four teachers of the old staff remained, and they were all appointed during the last year of the previous Headteacher's time at the school. Of these four, one was actively seeking a post elsewhere and another accepted an early retirement package. The two other teachers seem settled at the school and held allowances.

The new staff, thirteen in all, apparently worked well within the restructured system. They seem to accept the new definitions of skill and professionalism, and to this extent can be considered as 'new' professionals. However, there were indications that some of the teachers did not accept a totally changed definition of professionalism and the restructuring of work it entailed. There was still evidence of resistance, in the new school organisation, to management control and definition of work. These secondary adjustments, unlike those of the 'old professionals', took the form of 'passive resistance' (Campbell, 1988). They included:

- Not planning. The Headteacher regularly mentioned at staff-meetings and INSET days that some teachers and some year teams were not planning their work correctly and in some cases not planning at all. The Headteacher and curriculum co-ordinators used formal and informal means of surveillance of their colleagues planning and assessed to what extent the teachers' planning articulated with the curriculum in

action in the classroom. The Music co-ordinator, for example, knew that some teachers did not plan their lessons, and that one age group did not have Music lessons for a year. This monitoring of teachers' work was to try and ensure compliance with school and official policy. It was clear from what the Headteacher and curriculum co-ordinators said, that some of the teachers were not co-operating in the implementation of curriculum, assessment and pedagogic policy.

- Teaching subjects which were proscribed by school policy. It was the policy of the school not to teach competitive games, for example. However some teachers continued to do so, usually when the Headteacher was not in school. When teachers were found out they persisted in the practice on subsequent occasions.
- Swapping undesired lessons. There was an informal network in the school, which to some extent protected teachers from feelings of inadequacy in teaching certain subjects and reinforced their perception of expertise in others. This informal system by-passed the formal co-ordinator as consultant system, with its challenges to teachers' sense of expertise and adequacy. Thus, in a school of generalist teachers, in which teachers were expected to teach nine subjects, it was possible for a teacher to say - 'I'll do your P.E. if you do my Music'.
- Treating teacher appraisal casually. The school had a system of peer appraisal. Members of the senior management team were expected to appraise each other, main grade classroom teachers were responsible for appraising their colleagues. In a staff-meeting I heard a teacher asking the Deputy Headteacher for a training booklet on appraisal, as she would be appraising a colleague the following day. The appraisal of staff was considerably behind schedule.
- Being reluctant or refusing to accept the managerial roles which had been allocated to them. For example, some of the teachers had not participated in the formulation of the SDP, not because they had been officially excluded from the process but they saw their work in terms of the classroom. They talked of their class and their classroom rather than of whole-school issues (Alexander, 1984). These teachers

clearly perceived a hierarchy (albeit flattened) in the school and seemed willing to leave many managerial tasks to this group who presumably had the time, ambition, motivation and energy for a larger managerial commitment. This valuing of autonomy seemed to be a central and enduring aspect of the teachers' work and constructions of professionalism. A central plank of the teachers' perspective.

- Viewing the parents of some of the pupils as the 'enemy' rather than people to be collaborated with. Certain parents were still the butt of staffroom humour.

It needs to be stressed here that not all of the 'new professionals' engaged in these strategies, yet there seems to be sufficient evidence here to support Lawn's claim that,

the control and definition of schoolwork is contested by management and by teachers. This is true of the immediate past as it is of the present. The proposed emphasis on supervision, specialization and teamwork alters the mode of control but not its essential contestation.

(Lawn, 1988, p. 175)

Those who used some of the strategies to resist certain aspects of reforms, in the main complied with the majority of the new measures. What seemed to be happening was that the teachers were complying with changes which articulated strongly with their values and interests and rejecting those which did not. This complexity of adaptation is difficult to reveal by the use of rigid typologies of teacher adaptation (Lacey, 1977), wherein any particular teacher might be expected to strategically comply or internally readjust to or strategically redefine all of the multiple changes they face (see Skelton, 1990, who suggested and developed this point). In a situation which was a product of multiple causes the teachers complied with some things while resisting others.

Riseborough (1993, p170) asks '...how many teachers, for whatever reasons, have in practice utterly endorsed recent state policy and are internally adjusted and conforming to it?'

I could not say that in this case study I was witnessing a totally compliant workforce, or the creation of a new form of technicist professional whose values articulated wholly with official definitions of professionalism. Neither did their views, actions and strategies wholly represent a professionalism of the past, although the value placed on classroom autonomy does seem to represent a continuity in perspective. Rather, the teachers were selective professionals in their responses to the new work, roles and identities which were opening up. They both complied with some of the educational reforms, which had restructured their work, yet resisted others. Their responses were often ambivalent, complex and contradictory (Grace, 1995; see also chapter 5). Secondary adjustments were possible, at this time, because spaces existed within the work of teaching, and management teacher relations, which allowed resistance (Ball, 1990a). In these conditions teachers can still have a sense of control over their work and derive satisfaction from engaging in work which is an expression of their values. How long these spaces remain is a matter for conjecture. The OFSTED criteria now embody the official management construction and definition of professionalism. It is against these that teachers and their work will be judged. The teachers' adaptations to the inspection process is the focus of chapter 4.

Further micro-political attempts by the Headteacher to restructure and reculture the school and the responses of the teachers are described in part 2.

Part 2: Establishing the 'Moving Mosaic'?

The Headteacher's Responses to the Impact of Official Policy on the School

Several factors impacted together on the school prior to the Headteacher's further restructuring of the organisation. The situation in the school was affected by (1) turbulence in the external policy context, (2) criticisms contained in a report on the school following an inspection by HMI, (3) financial difficulties owing to the operation of the education market and, (4) the need to retrain the teachers in the new work involved with implementing the National Curriculum.

The teachers had to write school policy in the light of the curriculum orders. These, however, were frequently changing. At the time the data were collected the teachers were awaiting the outcome of the Dearing Review (1994), which was the latest in a long line of attempts to rationalise the mandated curriculum. In writing policy, planning and implementing the curriculum the teachers were often in the unfortunate position of having to anticipate the decisions of policy makers (Bowe et al. 1992).

The school had recently been inspected and the Headteacher and teachers spent much time in development planning and staff training in INSET sessions in order to respond to the criticisms of the inspectors. A specific concern in this respect was to respond to HMI criticism that 'teachers with curricular oversight do not have sufficient authority or non-contact time to monitor and develop the work of their colleagues in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning' (OFSTED, 1993, p.6). HMI were also concerned that the school did not have structures in place to monitor the implementation of policies in the classroom' (ibid.).

The inspectors had criticised the Headteacher's policy of keeping a 'carry over' budget to protect staffing, and noted that the 'Headteacher, administrative officer, and governing body closely monitor the budget and have followed a cautious budgetary strategy in order to protect the high carry-over which, it is anticipated, will not be available in future years' and 'whilst it may be prudent to retain a reserve to meet contingencies, necessary management decisions should not be delayed because of the cushion the carry-over provides'(ibid.)

The school was experiencing a situation of falling pupil numbers. Whereas it had been a three form entry for a number of years, it had now become two form entry. Since finance was directly linked to pupil numbers this had severe negative implications for the budget. Additionally, the Headteacher had used large amounts of the INSET budget and other sources of finance in order to pay supply teachers so that co-ordinators could be released to work collaboratively with colleagues, or on managerial and administrative tasks. It was

unlikely that a sufficiently high level of funding for staff training would be available in the future owing to falling rolls and central government cuts in local authority finance.

Ball and Bowe (1991, p.19) note that 'the multi-faceted 1988 Education Reform Act has introduced changes that affect all aspects of the functioning of the school: curriculum, assessment, the role of the teacher, organisation and management, and funding'. Issues surrounding these aspects were evident in a talk the Headteacher gave to the staff at the commencement of an INSET day. His stated aim was to communicate the current situation in the school and his proposed plans for formal organisational restructuring during the following term. While the Headteacher had explained many of his ideas on these topics to me and the staff at various times, and in formal and informal contexts, it is this talk which I feel best sums up his thoughts.

As a background to the other points he was going to make, the Headteacher stressed the need for efficiency. The 'new headship' role involves not just running a school but also running a business (Ball, 1994). He explained:

One of the things heads have been asked to do at the moment is to work out whether the school is being efficiently run. It's moved a lot of people in headship. The thing underlying everything at present is efficiency. If you remember after the inspection one of the sections was about efficiency. Are we actually using the money which has been given to us in the most efficient way?

He also made clear to the teachers that they were all in a competitive market where each pupil has a price tag, and where marketing the school is a survival strategy particularly in a local market where other schools 'aren't quite as professional' and may resort to underhand tactics to attract further pupils:

The amount of money we get and the amount of staff we've got depends on the number of kids we've got. So it's a bums on seats exercise. This puts us in a vulnerable situation where for instance you might find competition with another school - where things aren't quite as professional - and it happens round here. At the moment we are a two form entry and I want it to stay like that. It does count, the number of kids does count - what it comes down to is parents - the school's reputation - what we do and all the rest of it. As painful as it may seem marketing is a thing we have to think about.

The exact cause of the decline in pupil numbers is not clear here. While it seems to be presented here as a failed marketing strategy, it could equally have been the result of a downward demographic trend, population mobility or changing parental fashion. In practice, the exact cause, would be difficult to determine.

The Headteacher stressed that definitions of professionalism which may be held by the teachers but which diverged from those expected by the parent 'clients' could be a costly strategy:

If you think you're doing your job professionally and nobody wants to send their kids here, then that's just the way things are. So at the beginning of this year the financial budget doesn't look that rosy - we get paid for what we've got. We've gone from a three form entry to a two form entry in the last four years. We are working towards a natural wastage of staff rather than saying to people we're going from seventeen classes to fifteen classes and two of you are going to have to be made redundant. This year the contingency fund is £28,000 minus, not plus. When you're in that position you have to ask yourself if you can actually afford the basics or the staffing you've got.

The Headteacher had been criticised by HMI for his carry-over budgeting which he had used to protect staff given the uncertainty of funding since it was linked to pupils on role and

subject to annual cuts from the LEA. Carry-over budgeting had also meant that supply teachers could be hired to cover for the co-ordinators when they worked with colleagues. In this situation teachers become considered as being almost like commodities, as managers must take budgeting decisions about spending money, either on teachers or equipment (Ball, 1990a). In fact natural wastage of staff did not occur. The school 'downsized' (reducing the staffing level and associated finance) by not renewing the contracts of two teachers who were on temporary contracts. One of these teachers who had been covering for a permanent member of staff who had experienced a breakdown and would not be returning was referred to in the staff meeting:

Now, Bernadette has been covering for an extended sick leave for Margaret...Margaret has finished the time she's allowed on sick leave and has actually finished now. So Bernadette has come to the end of that contract. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to say to Bernadette we've got enough classes in the school for you to continue with the teaching, because nobody is more grateful to her than me for what she's done over the past twelve or is it eighteen months?

Falling rolls and therefore a decreased budget and fewer staff resulted inevitably in increased class size:

So, looking over the numbers we've got we've had favourable class sizes over the last couple of years and I'm talking about 21, 22, or 23 in some classes. We've done that because we've been able to move the numbers in such a way we've maintained staff. Next year we won't be able to do that. Next year we're looking at fifteen classes.

Increasing class size could be considered as a bad marketing strategy since potential parents presumably are attracted by small classes (Hughes et al. (1994), suggest that class size acts as a 'condensed symbol of the school'). The Headteacher suggested that large classes were

a feature of competitor schools. He also used a form of 'contrastive rhetoric' (A. Hargreaves, 1980b) in order to forestall any staff opposition:

In case you think 34-35 is a high number, I refer you to six of the primary schools in this town where you are looking at some of the Reception and Year One classes, and even some of the Year Five and Six classes, and these numbers are favourable compared to some of them.

Previously the INSET budget had provided for retraining but there were indications that this would not be the case in the future:

Over the last two years I've used the supply and INSET budget to fund all sorts of things like people on courses but mainly releasing people from the classroom to work with particular people for different reasons - for Maths, English whatever.

These, then, were the issues that were faced by the Headteacher and staff. The Headteacher's proposed solutions are the subject of the next section.

The 'Step' System: A New Formal Organisational Structure

The deleterious effects of the policies impacting on the school, perhaps ironically, had created the conditions for the Headteacher to engage in a restructuring of the organisation. Although becoming a two form entry school owing to falling rolls there were still two years (Year Five and Year Six) each having three classes. His proposal was to make two classes in Year Six each having 35 children in them, rather than have three smaller sized classes of approximately 23 in each. This way of organising would release Barry (the Deputy Headteacher and Year Six teacher) from his class responsibilities. It would then be possible to use Barry as a 'key' or 'floating' teacher who would cover classes and release co-ordinators to work with colleagues. Next year when Year Five moved up it would release

Deborah, presently a Year Five teacher, to perform the same role. The adoption of this mode of organisation would solve a number of problems for the Headteacher. It would allow him to respond to HMI recommendations concerning the use of co-ordinators in monitoring and developing the work of their colleagues in order to improve teaching and learning. The mode of organisation would provide for the retraining of the teachers in nine subjects in order to fulfil their roles as generalist teachers by using the co-ordinators in collaborative work with colleagues on a formal basis. The use of the Deputy Headteacher as a floating teacher would reduce the strain on the supply teacher budget and would not cause the disruption to classes which had occurred when supply teachers had been involved. As the Headteacher explained to the staff:

Barry is going to take on a role which will have a lot more to do with support teaching. The key issue in all of this is Barry's role in each of the areas of the school and there is a lot of mileage in looking at that as a role. In terms of not supply teachers coming into a class where they don't know the children.

But Barry's role was not merely to cover classes and act as a stand in to release co-ordinators to work with colleagues. It was also to monitor the practice of colleagues, assess their compliance to school policies and to gauge how far their work provided continuity and progression in the educational experience of pupils:

Barry's role in this is to be the key teacher to release those people who are going to work with other staff in trying to raise standards in all curriculum areas. Barry's role is going to be one of key teacher. Then he is able to say to Elizabeth and Mark that he is able to assess them on the basis of the work he is doing with them that the continuity is there and there is obvious progression and working at this level is different to working at that level.

The Headteacher had this idea for restructuring the staff for some time. He had explained it to the governors some months previously:

In the set up we've got in the two form entry - the staffing group of the governors have considered an idea that I've had for a while about making teachers move up the year groups of the school.

The new system was then explained to the staff. One teacher described it to me as the 'step' system:

So Elizabeth (Maths co-ordinator) is in Year Three next year and has been for a couple of years. Taking it that Maths is established in Year Three so Christine (Year Three teacher) knows exactly what Elizabeth wants in Maths O.K. So next year I move Elizabeth up to Year Five and Sarah (English and Special Educational Needs co-ordinator) into Year Three with language and the language work and special needs work that's set up with Christine. And Christine should be in a good position this year for good Maths practice that's been left by Elizabeth. When Elizabeth goes to Year Five and works with Deborah, say, she will find her well versed in Science skills, because she's had Marion (Science co-ordinator) working with her for a while. We must consider this, and look at our nine term development plan, and fit in and key in, these people to work at these levels. You will have the various strengths working alongside these people.

Removed from the context of the school, the Headteacher's explanation of the 'step' system may appear complex and confusing. What the new organisation was to entail was that the curriculum co-ordinators 'step' up or down the year groups in an annual cycle, and 'pass on' their subject expertise to the other teacher working in that year group through collaborative planning and working. Thus, with annual moves they would eventually spread their expertise amongst all of the teachers in the school. Using one example from the Headteacher's talk - Elizabeth (Maths co-ordinator), had worked with Christine in Year Three for a number of years, and had influenced her colleague's approach to Maths teaching in that year group. In the new form of organisation Elizabeth would have to move to Year

Five to work with Deborah and 'pass on' Maths subject expertise to her. Since the majority of the teachers were curriculum co-ordinators the new system would involve almost all of them. However, in the examples the Headteacher gave to the staff only curriculum co-ordinators for the core subjects of English, Maths and Science were cited.

Having explained the system, the Headteacher then legitimated it by referring to a new form of 'flexible' professionalism which he would presumably seek in his staff:

I don't believe that people should stay in one area too long. I don't think it's a good thing. I don't think it's good practice for professionals to stay in one area too long, because I don't think you see the whole picture.

Apart from Barry, one other teacher was identified as a potential floating teacher:

The only kink in the chain is Year Five. That's the only three class year group we have left. So Deborah (Year Five teacher) is known as the X factor. The X factor is Dennis Roger's (senior teacher in a nearby secondary school) idea. It is mathematically worked out with his skills as a secondary timetable man. You need an X factor, you need someone who can take the role of support teaching in virtually every subject area that can actually follow up a group. So, it doesn't matter if that person doesn't take specific subject responsibility.

The Headteacher closed the meeting by reinforcing his message about organisational change.

All the support is there, so it's just a matter of getting it off the ground. There will be a lot of changes because it will be a new kind of style we will be working on.

Once introduced, some teachers seemed to approve of the changes. For instance, Elizabeth the Maths co-ordinator, commenting on Barry's support role, said, 'I think it's brilliant, I've got two half days a week freeing me up for administration'. The Music co-ordinator, Karen, and Home/School Links co-ordinator, Lillian, were attracted to the idea of gaining help from other subject co-ordinators working alongside them because they felt they lacked expertise and knowledge in certain National Curriculum subject areas. Sarah, the English/SEN co-ordinator, also saw advantages in co-ordinators moving each year to work with different colleagues. She was 'quite impressed by it as it stands'. However, she did recognise a major drawback of having an annual rotation of co-ordinators:

Often good working relationships take time to develop and within school at the moment there are a couple of year groups where teachers have been together for two or three years and they feel that the second year is the best year. Because in the first year you're trying things out and the second year is the year you say, 'Well, that didn't work very well, let's improve it.' The sharing of expertise, the sharing of knowledge, yes that's how I can see it happening. But the development of good working relationships may suffer. I don't know.

The New Organisation: A 'Moving' or a 'Manipulative' Mosaic?

Given the wide range of organisational theories (Grint, 1991), which one best explains the organisational structure of the 'step' system? As the organisational restructuring was a response to a range of policies in the external environment of the school, contingency theory is perhaps appropriate. Wallace and McMahon remind us that,

contingency theory offers a way of thinking about the relationship between planning activity in organisations and their environment.

(Wallace and McMahon, 1994, p.31)

The theory holds that an organisation experiencing environmental turbulence may respond by flexibly increasing the degree of co-ordination and collaboration within an organisation' (ibid.). For Hanson (1979), this collaboration comes in the form of 'flexibility of procedures, open communication, shared information and the presence of special integrating personnel' (cited in Wallace and McMahon, 1994, p.31). Burns and Stalker (1961) discovered two types of management structures which stood in different relation to environmental turbulence. 'Mechanistic' structures, which had hierarchies and tightly specified roles, proved inflexible to change when subject to intervention from the environment. Alternatively, 'Organic' structures, with more fluid roles and less hierarchy could react more flexibly to environmental change, as the organisation allowed more 'lateral communication and quicker response to changing tasks' (Wallace and McMahon, 1994, p.32).

The intended 'organic' structure of the 'step' system and the unpredictability of the environment in which it was produced resemble the type of organisation which '---fares well in the volatile conditions of postmodernity' (A. Hargreaves 1994a p.62.). It is a form of organisation referred to by Toffler (1990) as a 'moving mosaic'. It is characterised by '---flexibility, adaptability, creativity, opportunism, collaboration, a positive orientation to problem solving and commitment to maximising their (teachers) capacity to learn about the environment and themselves. In this respect inbuilt innovations and routine unpredictability are the organisational oxymorons of postmodernity' (A. Hargreaves, 1994a, p.63).

A. Hargreaves argues that many businesses have adopted the 'moving mosaic', a postmodern organisational structure and workplace culture, as a means of combating and replacing the rigid and outmoded organisational bureaucratic structures of modernity. He advocates this form for schools, for it is claimed that flexible organisations have the capacity to promote professional learning, support collaborative working between colleagues in planning and decision-making, improve teaching and learning, empower teachers and respond to rapidly changing circumstances.

However, as A. Hargreaves points out, the 'moving mosaic' can easily become a 'manipulative mosaic'. He adds the caveat that 'teachers' suspicions that organisational 'flexibility' and the loosening of their roles and responsibilities may be used against them are not without foundation' (p.67). The 'flexibility' which is the central element of the 'moving mosaic' has and is being used in industrial and commercial contexts for deskilling and downsizing workforces. Although the 'step' system contained elements of both of the types of mosaic described here, I find the argument that it was manipulative more compelling, for the following reasons.

Although the school had an informal collaborative culture and structures for shared decision-making (albeit subject to some Headteacher micro-political action), prior to the introduction of the 'step' system, it was the Headteacher acting unilaterally who introduced the restructured system. In doing this, he was responding to rapidly changing circumstances and this action was a creative and strategic adaptation. This is increasingly the role of the primary headteacher in the autonomous school, to take decisions in turbulent conditions and perhaps necessarily bypass staff, governors and parents (Pollard et al. 1994; Menter et al. 1995b). The tension between the collegial and top down management styles is increasingly being resolved with headteachers using their executive powers without consultation (Pollard et al. 1994). However, in the context of the case study school this was a major departure from the SDP, and from previous ways of working in the school. As such, this was the Headteachers' vision rather than one which was shared with teachers, governors and parents.

The new mode of organisation introduced by the Headteacher was his response to policy changes outside the school. But these policies were being mediated through the existing micro-political dynamics of the school. It was not the outcome of collective decision-making, collaborative process or even democratic consultation. It is arguable therefore, that the teachers lacked ownership of not only the vision but also the means of attaining it. No forum had been created within the school (which the Headteacher had restructured apparently to support collegiality) in which, for example, the English/SEN co-ordinator,

Sarah, could express her considered views on the nature of collaboration and how the proposed new system might be ineffective in generating it.

The 'step' system seemed designed to create or accentuate role ambiguity and conflict for the teachers. This was particularly so for the Deputy Headteacher. The role of the deputy headteacher is already characterised by ambiguity. As Southworth (1988) explains:

The position of the deputy has little substance or meaning because the leadership of the primary school is overwhelmingly the function of the head. In addition, primary deputies are seldom released from their class teaching duties and...it is rare that the deputy's job, on a day to day basis, differs from that of other teachers...the deputy should be regarded as a trainee head. This implies that there is no intrinsic need for deputies in the school.

(ibid. p.49)

In practice, Barry was seen by some of the staff as a supply teacher. When the English/SEN co-ordinator was asked how Barry's new role was working out, she said:

Not brilliantly. With the budget as it stands people have been released but it's not always possible. If somebody is away sick and we need to cover, then some of that time is being used to cover illness for the odd day or a half.

And Mark, the Assessment/INSET co-ordinator, explained:

There is always a likelihood that if somebody is ill you're going to call Barry in to cover because you can't get a supply or it's too expensive to keep on bringing in a supply. So you're going to use Barry to fill that gap. And so they won't be doing what initially they were supposed to be doing.

This co-ordinator told Barry, when his new role as floating teacher was announced, that in his new role he would be the 'highest paid LSA in the county'.

Barry didn't see himself as a supply teacher, but rather saw his new role as an opportunity to gain some non-contact time himself on occasions when he did not have to cover for colleagues:

The new organisation has actually once or twice enabled James and me to have a proper discussion and me not saying, 'Oh, I have got to go now, back to my class'.

He saw his role as a preparation for what he perceived as the next stage in his career, headship in another school;

I'm Deputy Head, and I can't be seen to be sitting around doing nothing. Which I'm not. But then I teach the whole age group Years Three, Four, Five and Six, doing the infants as well. Looking at it from a career viewpoint, it's quite a good thing to actually have done. I've had experience of the whole age range anyway. James wants to get rid of me, thankfully for the right reasons, but I think there are one or two he would like to see on their way.

Barry, at the time of the research, attended several interviews for vacant headships.

As far as monitoring the work of colleagues was concerned, Barry acknowledged that some of the other teachers saw him as a 'spy' acting as the Headteacher's agent, but legitimated his role of monitoring and surveillance:

If seventeen people have decided that this is how we are going to teach language in our school and sixteen are doing it and one isn't, then I can say, 'Hey, come on, where's this general approach we've all agreed upon?'

James had made it clear to me that Barry had been 'inherited' from the 'old regime'. He wanted him to leave the school because he didn't see him fitting into the management plan, and his salary was eating into the school budget (which had just been cut). As James explained:

The problem is at the moment I still have Barry as my Deputy and I would like him to get a headship. He needs to get a headship. He needs to be moving on because that's vital to him and it's vital to me because I don't need a deputy. I need a senior management group with people, personnel who have been deemed to be the senior staff. Who take the responsibilities for pastoral care, curriculum issues and so on. And it's a shared responsibility rather than one job and I would operate better under those circumstances than I would with a deputy...I wouldn't replace Barry with a deputy. I'd probably have a senior management staff with two Cs - recognised C allowance teachers who would be seen as deputies if you like. And four B allowance people who would be seen as the people who could step into that role if they wished so we'd have six people as a senior staff.

James also thought Barry lacked the necessary skills to be a successful floating teacher. Like others on the staff he saw Barry being more successful as a supply teacher rather than a support teacher or monitor. Talking after the first term of the new organisation James said,

It's not as successful as I would have liked it to have been. There's all sorts of reasons for that. It's been successful from the point of view that we have been able to release co-ordinators to work with other people on a regular basis without disrupting the children's pattern of work because Barry has

been doing the release. So, therefore, it's the same person there, so there is continuity...I think people would more readily accept Elizabeth or Sarah in the classroom, as support, than they do Barry. He tends to be a bit cavalier in some of the things he does, but that's just the way he is. He's not as strong sometimes on curricular issues as they would be. Barry is not trouble shooting, what he is doing is fitting in to give the children a regular input from one person, rather than several different supply teachers.

But even in the more limited role of supply teacher, Barry was also failing to impress some of the teachers:

He comes into my classroom on Thursday morning for me to go and do junior hymn classes. And at the beginning we were told that he had to plan his own work and he had to come into our planning meetings. He had to plan his own work but we had to check what he was doing. But he doesn't.

There was an incident last week when I was so angry. So I had a big row with him because he just didn't do what he was supposed to have been doing with my class. And so he left me on Thursday afternoon having to do it all over again...They were writing stories and he was supposed to mark them, and all he did was put a tick at the end. He didn't correct any spellings. So I spent the whole of Thursday afternoon with the kids, giving them a holding activity. And I had to mark their books all over again.

(Karen, Music co-ordinator, Year Two Teacher)

Thus, Barry's role was open to a range of interpretations and meanings. It was nowhere clearly stated and the very different tasks of spy/monitor, supply teacher, LSA and support teacher might be expected to conflict with each other producing role tension.

As with supply teachers generally, it was likely that the ambiguous role, his lack of a geographical space which would serve as his base (he didn't have a classroom or an office), and his lack of opportunity to develop an emotional relationship with one class (A. Hargreaves, 1997), would be factors which could accelerate his departure (Morrison, 1996). The whole idea of a 'moving mosaic' depends on the ability of workers to occupy multiple and shifting roles; also for them to adopt changing responsibilities as external changes dictate. However, when role diversity means there is too much for the occupier of the role to do, this causes strain and conflict (Campbell, 1988, p.230), not integration and collaboration.

Paradoxically, the new organisation, although introduced for flexibility and responsiveness, actually lacked the flexibility of the existing collaborative culture in the school. The unpredictability of working conditions within the primary school may always have demanded a degree of flexibility from the teachers. Certainly, flexibility would seem to be required for fulfilling the teachers' role which Alexander describes:

Education is value-laden, complex and debatable; children are only in certain respects predictable; teaching is idiosyncratic and uniquely compounded of the characteristics of teacher, taught and the situation within which they meet; some education outcomes are desired and worked towards but others are not known in advance not least because the educational claim to foster individuality and autonomy is in fact conditional upon allowing for and seeking the new and unpredictable response.

(Alexander, 1984, p.206)

However, the flexibility required by the new organisation was of a different order. It was a 'controlled' flexibility. The new system required the teachers to move through the age ranges as allocated by the Headteacher. This would involve them in abandoning phase loyalties, and for the 'key' 'floating' teachers, the 'X factors', subject loyalty as well. Before the new

form of organisation was introduced, the Headteacher and staff (individually) used to discuss staff deployment for the coming year. While the Headteacher normally bowed to the staff's wishes he did have the 'final say'. While this process was taking place over some weeks in the summer term, there was a great deal of discussion in the staffroom involving teachers worrying about where they would be teaching, and who they would be teaching with, during the following year. When the process was over, there seemed to be much relief as most teachers had their wishes acknowledged. Some of the teachers had strong phase loyalties and seemed committed to remaining within a particular year group. Other teachers appeared to have not so much phase commitment but be committed to avoiding certain phases: 'I'm sorry but infants are not my cup of tea'. In the new system, this degree of self-determination and control of work, potentially, will be lost as the teachers move automatically through the years.

Alternatively, the teachers saw that they would be supported in subjects in which they may have a weakness, and even welcomed the increased supervision and control of their work, 'We would be able to do it the way the co-ordinators want it doing'. The new flexibility was perceived as something which was required of professionals these days in order to ensure continuity and progression by understanding all the stages the children pass through. The Art co-ordinator, a Year Six teacher, for example, was working with Reception /Year One classes to familiarise herself with this phase:

Tamsin went initially to observe the way in which Art is done in the infants. She was finding out what children of that age are capable of and then, perhaps, using that to suggest ideas or help plan the next term's Art. This will make use of the infant teachers' expertise, and also take into account what the children are capable of.

(Mark, Assessment/INSET Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher,
Senior Manager)

The experience would, no doubt, give her some credibility when she eventually advised the infant teachers. She would not be in the position of Webb and Vulliamy's (1996) co-ordinator who offered advice but was perceived to 'know nothing about infants'. There was an air of resignation about this too. Being flexible was just part of the job. Some, for example, Barry, saw it as a career move, so that when they apply for deputy headships or headships they could demonstrate their experience in all year groups and an ability to 'fit in anywhere'. The teachers felt that this would be expected of them - an indication that this might become part of the next ideology, replacing 'child-centred progressivism' as the *sine qua non* of primary expertise (Alexander, 1992). Yet others saw it as a way of avoiding boredom and keeping professionally fresh. Karen, for instance had taught Year Six before her move to the infants:

I never understood how you could just teach Year Six. Yes, you might get absolutely brilliant at it, but you'd get bored with this National Curriculum.

It's the same thing you're churning out year after year after year.

Certainly, in an increasingly static workforce (Richards, 1987), this system might provide opportunities for teachers continually to face new challenges within the same school. Teachers who were on temporary or fixed term contracts gave the organisation further flexibility, particularly in periods when budget cuts forced 'downsizing'.

As discussed in chapter 1, it was an intention of government policy to make schools more like business organisations (Coopers and Lybrand, 1988). In this respect the new form of organisation at the case study school resembled the type of flexible post-Fordist organisation which can adapt quickly to changing circumstances, and therefore needs flexible workers who are capable of rapid adaptations to new situations. This seems to be behind the notion of the 'key' teacher and 'floating' teacher or 'X factor'. The idea of the flexible teacher does seem to resonate with descriptions of the flexible and multi-skilled and co-operative worker (Winterton and Barlow, 1994) who works in collaborative teams or 'quality circles', and can substitute for colleagues as the production process dictates, thus preventing breaks in the

work flow and production process. For management, this type of worker, and work, can maximise flexible production, increase productivity, increase worker commitment to each other and the company, increase the self-surveillance and control of workers, increase product quality and lower staff turnover.

This 'step' system, however, may prove to be ill suited to the predominantly female workplace of the primary school. The educational system and the school organisation presuppose a technical-rational and masculine conception of career, seeing it as linear and continuous (Evetts, 1987). The new organisation is, in this respect, inflexible. Female careers are often non-linear and disrupted owing to breaks for child-rearing. As one female teacher said 'the system will break down as soon as somebody leaves to have a baby'. For teachers, however, the type of flexible working which is involved in their new work has implications for the teacher's self and professional identity. Attempts to impose conditions which amounted to little more than contrived collegiality (A. Hargreaves, 1994a) had the potential of disrupting the development of a genuinely flexible culture of collaboration.

The micro-political structure at the school before the introduction of the 'moving/manipulative mosaic' resembled a culture of collaboration. Informally the teachers worked with colleagues in the same year and had in many cases become friends. The collaborative relationship worked because the teachers were working with someone who was part of their positive reference group (Nias, 1989). Informal collaboration consisted of the teachers planning together, talking in the staffroom and around the school, meeting each other out of school and spending INSET days together. Lack of non-contact time to free co-ordinators to do administrative tasks had led the teachers to draw on resources provided by the collaborative culture in order to create time for this work. These *ad hoc* arrangements included: the release of co-ordinators during assembly and hymn practice; the use of students to cover lessons; the use of the researcher to cover lessons; and the Headteacher taking classes. These had all been informal and untimetable events which had come about through the negotiations and collaboration of the teachers concerned. As noted earlier, teachers 'swapped' their classes with colleagues, usually in the same year team, in order to teach

subject specialisms and compensate for subject weaknesses. More formally, the teachers collaborated in working parties, staff meetings and committees. They chose which policy making groups to belong to and their participation in these looked to be genuinely collaborative. However, in the new system, teachers would have no choice with whom they worked, and there was some evidence (see above) that some of the teachers could not work well with each other. Teachers had mentioned that it takes longer than a year (perhaps two years) to develop a good working and professional relationship with a colleague. The successful pairings of teachers had been among those who had been together for several years. They had become interdependent, like friends, or like 'finger and thumb' (Nias, 1987). However, the 'step' system required an annual move.

The Fate of the 'Step' System

The 'step' system was introduced at the beginning of the Autumn term 1994 and continued until half way through the Spring term. During this period Barry followed a timetable to release co-ordinators of the core subjects of English, Maths and Science. These co-ordinators used their release time, in the main, for working individually on the planning and resourcing of the subjects for which they were responsible. There were many occasions when the timetable was not adhered to, and co-ordinators were not released because staff were absent, and a low budget for supply teachers meant that Barry was required to 'cover' the classes of teachers who were ill, or attending LEA courses. At half term in the Spring term of 1995, Barry had to abandon his role as 'key' teacher in order to become the class teacher of a Year Five class whose teacher had just begun maternity leave. The Headteacher chose to save money by having Barry taking the class, rather than appointing a temporary replacement .

Large reductions in the Rate Support Grant, paid by central government to local government in 1995, resulted in large cuts to the school's budget. When the size of the 1995-96 budget was made known at the beginning of the Summer term 1995, it was clear that the school would again have to downsize. This was achieved without redundancies owing to two

teachers, Frances (an 'old professional'), and Pat, volunteering for early retirement. If staff reductions hadn't taken place by this method the Headteacher claimed that the reductions would have had to be made by the compulsory redundancy of those with least years of service.

Quite apart from these events, the school was unable to devote much time to curriculum development and the implementation of innovation owing to it being awarded, unexpectedly and at the last minute, the finance for a building extension project. Half the school population was in temporary accommodation on the site. The extension of the main building would bring the whole school under one roof. The school had waited almost a decade for a LEA grant for the project. Even up until the eve of the commencement of building work the grant was not assured. However, the large scale building work was disruptive to the life of the school. The removal of some of the temporary terrapin classrooms, to allow building to proceed, meant that classes had to be taught in the few spare spaces of the main building, such as corridors and the school hall.

Throughout the Summer term there were several residential school visits and a major dramatic production, 'Grease', involving many children from the upper junior classes. Rehearsal took place throughout the term and culminated in a week of performances in June. Additionally, during this period, the standard assessment tasks (SATs) were conducted in Years Two and Six, sports days took place and a large party of American students visited the school. Annual reports to parents were completed and parent evenings held. At the end of the summer term Deborah, a Year Five teacher and potential 'key' teacher, left the school having acquired a teaching post elsewhere.

Though these events obviously had major implications for the functioning of the school most of them were not indicated on the SDP. These mostly unpredictable factors contributing to external turbulence and internal instability (Wallace and McMahon, 1994) meant that the 'step' system could not be continued as planned. The existing staff culture and micro-political structure seemed poorly articulated with the formal organisational structure of

the new system. Non-contact time to release co-ordinators to work with colleagues would, in future, have to be gained by reversion to the previous organisational structure of hiring supply teachers (when finance allowed, though this did not seem a possibility, given the budget situation) or the informal collaborative methods described earlier.

Conclusion

At Meadowfields, the contrived democracy and collegiality was steered by the firm hand of James' cultural management. His position reflects a 'tension-ridden situation' that many headteachers have found themselves in since ERA, and particularly since the introduction of LMS (Woods et al. 1997, p. 75; see also Pollard et al. 1994; Grace, 1995; Webb and Vulliamy, 1996). On the one hand, headteachers need to shape a culture of collaboration and develop the new differentiated and flexible roles for staff (Lawn, 1995) in order to implement the top down reforms through building consensus and compliance, and utilising the professional strengths of the teachers. On the other hand, an official role expectation is that they will be strong, entrepreneurial leaders with vision and a developed capacity for unilateral decision-making (Grace, 1995). Furthermore, they are legally responsible for the decisions which are made. The primary headteacher also operates in a rapidly changing context and turbulent external environment. This is particularly notable with regard to finance and budgeting. In such conditions headteachers need to respond rapidly and 'do their best for the school' (Grace, 1995). In this situation, 'the tensions are resolved often strategically and politically rather than on an educational basis' (Woods et al. 1997, p.40). In this context, collaborative shared decision-making may get in the way of strong and flexible leadership. As James explained to one parent who was seeking, but was refused, involvement in whole-school decision-making, 'the bottom line is finance and staffing, I'm the one who must take the tough decisions'. James basically seemed to favour strong direction, and found a way in micro-politics of avoiding tension.

We have seen, at Meadowfields, that contrived collaboration raised problems for the teachers. Notable here is the constraint that this form of collaboration places on individuals

working. The class teacher's strong sense of professional responsibility to her class is being threatened by the requirement that she engages in contrived collaboration. This aspect of 'individuality' as opposed to 'individualism' is a powerful reminder of a culture of teaching which is being restructured in the direction of enforced collaboration. In this shift, not only individual working but genuine collaborative cultures which promise authentic school improvement are under threat. While primary teachers may welcome a workplace culture of collaboration if the range and quality of the collaboration and collegiality is considered appropriate, they will see it as contrived collegiality if it appears to involve intensification, overload, ineffectiveness, limited choice, inappropriate democratic procedures, the domination of an informal discourse and extended institutionalisation as we have seen here. They see through the management rhetorics and expose the managerial myths of 'ownership', 'empowerment', 'collaboration', and 'participative decision-making'. Thus, as Woods et al. (1997, p.166) explain:

There is no linear application of policy into practice, but a complicated process involving school and/or headteacher's values (ethos), the headteacher's gatekeeping, and chosen styles of leadership.

I have discussed here the restructuring and reculturing of teachers' work and how professional relationships are being reconstructed as 'managed' collaborative cultures. I have shown that the implementation of official policy is not achieved in a simple linear fashion, resistances occur and the reform process is halted or diverted in unexpected ways. However, there are structures and processes in place which are intended to ensure that the official prescriptions on teachers' work and work cultures are complied with. I turn in the next chapter, therefore, to the policing of teachers' new roles and work relationships. The focus here is on two interrelated forms of control - school inspection and self-management.

CHAPTER FOUR

Policing the New Professionalism: Self-Management, School Inspection and the Control of Primary Teachers' Work

Introduction

As outlined in chapter 1, a major aspect of the restructuring of education in the United Kingdom has been the policies and practices involved with decentralisation and devolving budgets directly to schools. The intention behind such moves is to enable self-managing schools to respond autonomously and quickly to the rapidly changing environment of the education market and new reform initiatives. Perhaps paradoxically, these measures have been introduced in a context of education financial cuts and the increasingly tighter central control of curriculum, assessment and the work of teaching. Some critics argue that the 'new freedom' [Grace, 1995] is illusory and that in practice self-management is a new and powerful form of control of teachers' work and schooling [Ball, 1994]. Ball argues, for instance, that self-management systems, rather than liberating teachers and headteachers, merely police themselves to ensure implementation of the central reforms. This is seen to be an 'indirect steering' [Kickert, 1991] of the education system by the state. This analysis, however, does not consider other forms of 'direct control' of teachers and schools, like the accountability systems involved in the inspection of schools. I argue, in this chapter, that self-management systems interrelate with school inspections in order to provide a continuous, rigorous and pervasive mode of control and surveillance. Further, they have had a negative effect on initiatives in the school which seemed likely to enable school improvement.

First I discuss the growth of self-management and accountability systems. Secondly, I consider the Headteacher's and teachers' responses to the impact of self-management and inspection.

Local Management of Schools and Self-Management

As argued in chapter 1, a central feature of the global restructuring of education in developed countries is the decentralisation of education systems. This is evident in moves in the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom (UK) to devolve power, from the central and local state, to school level (Swanson, 1992). Decentralisation, in some contexts, acknowledges not only the failure of central reform movements and measures, but also the capacity of schools to improve themselves. Central government has achieved decentralisation through measures concerning devolved budgets in local financial management schemes. Grace (1995) argues, advocates of self-management would reason that, by diverting freedom, power and funds directly to heads and governors, who are placed in competition with other schools, would release entrepreneurial initiative and spirit which would impact favourably on educational standards in the schools.

Many of the pilot schemes of local financial management were in place by the late 1980s. It was clear to some commentators (Levacic, 1989) that it would go well beyond the bounds of merely being about managing budgets and would embrace many other aspects of school management:

Delegated budgeting does not just bolt on a separate set of accounting tasks; it becomes integrated with the other aspects of managing a school. It was to emphasise this close interrelation between financial and other management tasks that the policy was renamed 'local management of schools' (Coopers and Lybrand, 1988).

(Levacic, 1989, p.5)

Grace (1995) points out that the notion of the self-managing school is supported by a considerable body of management literature. Influential amongst this is Caldwell and Spinks' 'The Self-Managing School' (1988). The authors develop a model of self-management which they describe as a 'collaborative school management cycle', and they advocate this model

because it provides for the appropriate involvement of teachers, parents and students in an on-going management process of goal setting, need identification, policy making, planning, budgeting, implementing and evaluating. The focus is on programmes for students and effective and efficient allocation of resources to support teaching and learning.

(ibid. p.15)

Owing to the rational model, which is derived from the commercial sphere, on which LMS is based, school self-management involves rational planning (Levacic, 1989). While it is mandatory for schools to have an annual National Curriculum development plan, many schools produce SDPs which go well beyond this requirement and articulate financial, curricular, resource, buildings, staff development, and teacher appraisal planning with cycles of monitoring and review (Wallace and Mc Mahon, 1994). This practice is endorsed by official policy because it,

brings together in an overall plan, national and LEA policies and initiatives, the school's aims and values, its existing achievements and its needs for development. By coordinating aspects of planning which are otherwise separate, the school acquires a shared sense of direction and is able to control and manage the tasks of development and change. Priorities for developments are planned in detail for one year and are supported by action plans or working documents for staff. The priorities for later years are sketched in outline to provide the longer term programme.

(DES, 1988, p.4 cited in Wallace and Mc Mahon,1995, p.10)

The practice of school development planning is both supported and legitimated by a wealth of texts (see, D. Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1991; Davies and Ellison, 1992; West and Ainscow, 1991; Hill et al. 1990). Notable amongst these is 'The Empowered School' (D. Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1991). The authors see the production of a development plan as not only essential for the efficient and effective operation of the self-managing school but see teacher involvement in the process as empowering and creating a new school culture in

which multiple innovations can be implemented. They, too, stress the importance of collaboration and promote the view of the self-managing school as one in which the staff are 'empowered':

We believe that when heads and governors see LMS as a spur to development planning (of which financial management is a component), they have taken the road to what will truly be self-managing schools' - ones which not merely learn to manage change and finance but also learn the art of school improvement which leads to more effective teaching and learning.

(ibid. p.13)

As noted in chapter 1, they see management in an holistic sense and advocate the involvement of teachers, headteachers, parents and governors, in a type of collaborative management which often requires 'a change of school culture'. (ibid. p.17)

The autonomy and 'new freedom' (Grace, 1995) granted to schools through LMS and self-management, in existing arrangements is not total or unfettered. It is a bounded freedom. For accompanying the new measures are several forms of checks, balances and controls including market accountability, accountability through test scores and four yearly inspections conducted by the privatised inspectorate, OFSTED. School improvement is also a stated aim of inspection. For although OFSTED fulfils an accountability role rather than an advisory one, it is of course an intention of inspection that inspectors identify areas in which a school could improve.

Self-Management: A Critique

Some critics of self-management have noted control in the way that self-management systems operate in practice. Ball (1994) is extremely critical of the policy and practice of self-management and sees it as a covert form of the state control of schooling. Following Kickert (1991) he argues that self-management is a form of, covert 'indirect steering' by the

state. As self-surveillance, it decreases the need for overt and coercive control. It is more effective, too, because in this context 'resistance sets the dissenters against colleagues not policies'. However, in Ball's view, rather than empowering,

the forms of self-management which are currently in play, politically and textually, are discursively distinct from either notions of empowerment or interactive rationality. Self-management is the panopticon (*pervasive monitoring and disciplinary gaze*) of modern educational organisations.

(Ball,1994, p.72) (my *italics*).

Ball's discussion of self-management separates it as a form of control from direct steering from the state in the form of HMI and Office for OFSTED. I want to argue, on the basis of data from the case study school, that rather than being separate forms of control, in practice, they are strongly interconnected. The self-surveillance of the SDP is reinforced by the constant gaze of the inspectorate. The nature of the relationship between inspection and self-management makes for a more pervasive and rigorous control than could be achieved by the use of one form alone. Inspectors were the absent presence in the school influencing teachers' work, the SDP and decisions arising from it.

Formulating the 'Nine Term Vision'

In interview, the Headteacher explained the advantages of LMS and self-management for the school as having

given us the opportunity to put into practice things that I believe in anyway. It's given greater flexibility and new opportunities to be able to look at our own school in terms of how you planned it and worked it and so on.

(Headteacher)

However, in the process of formulating the three year SDP, which was named as the 'nine term vision', many constraints were evident. An LEA inspector had to be involved with the school in producing the new plan. Development planning was a priority with the LEA and the senior management team were guided by two LEA publications - (1) 'Efficiency' and (2) 'School Development Plans in Nursery, First, Primary and Middle Schools: A Survey by Primary Inspectors'. This latter document was a summary of HMI's national survey produced by the LEA and gave guidance on the process of development planning and the form that the plans should take. It was also necessary for the school to make a new plan in order to respond to an HMI instruction in the 'key issues' section of their inspection report which stated that ,

the head, senior management team and governing body should formulate a new school development plan which gives priority to improving the balance, quality and depth of the curriculum. This should include the definition of staff roles and responsibilities, the provision of in-service education for teachers and the improvement of the supply and use of resources.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

And that they should

put in place systems for monitoring and evaluating the outcomes of all the school policies and decisions as described in the SDP.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

Although many of the comments were favourable and praised aspects of work in the school, many criticisms were discernible. The teachers claimed that in reading the report it was possible to read between the lines and identify particular teachers. This was most easily accomplished in the case of subject co-ordinators. One of the co-ordinators resigned as a result of the criticism of the teaching and management of the subject for which she was responsible. In addition to the published findings and advice the inspectors had given verbal

feedback during the inspection. They had told the head that the old development plan had been unrealistic and that financial planning should be articulated with other aspects of the nine term vision, for example, curriculum, assessment and staff development.

The formulation of the new plan was carried out almost wholly by the senior management team with the co-ordinators sending in requests or 'bids' for developments they would like to bring about in their subjects. Many of these had resource and financial implications. A majority of the co-ordinators 'bid' for non-contact time to release them from some of their class teaching in order to work alongside their colleagues. This was a priority which had been established by the inspectors and adopted by the Headteacher. They claimed that

Teachers with curricular oversight do not have sufficient authority or non-contact time to monitor and develop the work of colleagues in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

The nine term vision consisted of a 'vision statement' and a matrix which showed strategic planning for nine terms, the first three in some detail, the remainder more sketchily, and articulated the following aspects: all the National Curriculum subjects; assessment; INSET and staff development; school management, organisation and financial administration; resources-human and material; buildings and premises; and home/school/community links. The majority of the planning was carried out in the Spring and Summer terms of 1994.

Modes of Teacher and Headteacher Response to Inspection and Self-Management

Headteacher and teacher responses fall into five categories. They are: anticipation of surveillance; self-surveillance; impression management; criticising; and fragmentation. I will discuss each in turn.

Anticipation of Surveillance

To anticipate an event means to look forward to it. Anticipation can mean looking forward eagerly to something which is pleasurable. Generally this is not the case with school inspections. I use the word, anticipation, in this context to denote expectation of the unpleasant, a cause of anxiety, something to be dreaded (Jeffrey and Woods, 1995). Even though the inspection had taken place over a year earlier many of the teachers spoke about it and explained their present actions in terms of it. Recent work on the topic Kenya, 3D Art work and teaching the children to use research skills, for example, were introduced in response to the criticisms of the inspectors. All the teachers I spoke with mentioned the inspection. It had impacted in a major way on their work and careers. The inspection week itself, while not generally enjoyed by the teachers, left winners and losers in its aftermath. Some co-ordinators had gained promotion, following the publication of the inspection report, taking up posts recommended by HMI in advice about restructuring. One co-ordinator had responsibility for a core curriculum subject removed and she was given a new brief for a less demanding role. Another co-ordinator resigned from a core curricular subject responsibility in the light of a subject report which was very negative about her work. Although the school had been inspected so recently, what reason was there for the staff to anticipate further surveillance from another inspection team? A Year Four teacher in an INSET session asked, 'Can we be inspected at any time?' The Headteacher often led the staff to anticipate a further inspection 'since the previous inspection was only a training exercise for OFSTED', and now the four year inspection cycle had been introduced. 'Just because we got HMI there's no guarantee we won't get OFSTED'. He warned the teachers that, 'in September we might have the brown envelope from OFSTED arriving'. Everybody present seemed quite sure of what the contents of such a letter would be - notice of a further inspection.

The Headteacher anticipated the thoroughness of the inspectors. He said that the leader of the HMI team had told him that 'they would leave no stone unturned'. The head mentioned a

Registered Inspector he knew who 'didn't miss a trick' when inspecting a school. In a staff meeting the head compared the school to a pint of stout, and told the teachers that 'the inspectors scrape away the froth at the top of the Guinness and they look beneath'. In a staff meeting on the importance of planning, the Headteacher stimulated anticipation and fear in the staff by saying:

If I came into your classroom and said, 'We've got an inspector in my office, can I see your plans?', some of you would be white faced.

(James, Headteacher)

Visits from the LEA inspectors were also anticipated. They were all Registered or Team Inspectors with OFSTED, and, although not allowed to inspect their own schools, were part of the OFSTED culture and presumably knew what inspectors were looking for. The local inspector for the school was helping it to respond to the HMI criticisms. He attended SDP planning sessions and 'could tell if the school had responded to the (inspection) report' (Mary, Humanities Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher, Senior Manager). This same teacher saw the presence of the local inspector as mandatory and said his involvement was 'part of the bail conditions following the inspection'. The senior management team saw this inspector's involvement in the school to focus on the development plan as a way of addressing HMI recommendations, and thought that 'he might suddenly walk into the school with some OFSTED people' and demand to see the completed plan.

The Headteacher felt that the school was constantly in the 'public eye', and mentioned parents, media, politicians and inspectors in this respect. The senior management team feared that 'anyone' could walk in and ask to see the development plan. The Headteacher thought the plan was very important because 'it would form the baseline for the next inspection', and therefore 'we need to do the right thing and go in the right direction'. He told the teachers about the experiences of headteachers in other schools which had been inspected. These were in the form of 'horror stories'. There was a teacher from a recently inspected local secondary school, who informed the senior management team of the things

that inspectors look for on a development plan. The staffroom noticeboard bore photocopies of the newspaper reports of local schools which had just been 'Ofsted' as examples of the things inspectors look for, including development plans. The presence of the plans also, probably, increased anticipation as they were further evidence that the inspectors were active in the locality.

Self-Surveillance

Self-management in the case study school involved systems and processes of self-surveillance. In these, teachers attempted to monitor their own work and that of colleagues in order to establish how far their practice conformed to both state and school policy. Surveillance was also carried out by the school inspectors, but in the case of self-surveillance, since almost all of the teachers are co-ordinators (only newly qualified teachers do not have subject co-ordination responsibilities), a large majority of the teachers are both the subject and the object of surveillance (Ball, 1994).

The inspector noted and criticised the fact that,

teachers with curricular oversight do not have sufficient authority or non-contact time to monitor, and develop the work of colleagues

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

They recommended that the school should,

put in place systems for monitoring and evaluating the outcomes of all the school policies and decisions as described in the school development plan.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

The Headteacher responded to these recommendations by creating systems and opportunities for subject co-ordinators to work alongside their colleagues. This, amongst other strategies

such as paying for supply teachers to release co-ordinators, involved changing the school organisation to enable subject-co-ordinators to move through the year groups in an annual rotation thereby spreading their subject expertise (see chapter 3 and Troman, 1996d). The teachers, too, devised informal ways of releasing colleagues to work collaboratively without incurring the cost of supply teachers. For example, students would cover a class while the class teacher 'visited' a colleague. These opportunities were needed not only for professional learning and development amongst the teachers but also as a way of supervising and monitoring their work. Co-ordinators, by visiting colleagues' classrooms were in a position to assess whether or not the teachers were conforming with policy. As discussed in chapter 3, the Deputy Headteacher acting as a 'floating' teacher for one term, covered the classes of teachers releasing them for collaborative work, and was specifically charged with the appraisal of colleagues.

When the SDP was being formulated, subject co-ordinators, with the exception of the six in the senior management team, were not included in planning meetings. They were, however, asked to submit 'bids' for their subject which the senior management team could feed into the planning process. When the senior management team discussed the 'bids' at a planning meeting it was discovered that the majority of co-ordinators had applied for non-contact time to work with colleagues in their classrooms. By doing this they seem to have internalised the head's prioritisation of issues in responding to inspection criticisms, and seemed to be expressing a willingness to supervise and monitor colleagues. The local school inspector provided the senior management team with a pro-forma for 'action planning' to circulate to the co-ordinators in order that they could plan and evaluate their suggested programmes. Details of these were then entered in to the nine term vision.

Processes of self-surveillance, and surveillance by media, were observed at two INSET sessions led by the Headteacher. At a day long session on the importance of development planning and lesson planning the Headteacher showed the teachers and LSAs an overhead projection of extracts from the inspection report, and focused on a criticism of planning in the school:

Teachers' short term lesson plans give insufficient detail about how the needs of groups of pupils will be met or the resources which are required.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

He then said that 'I'm sure we've moved forward from here in our planning and evaluation. These are areas in the school which involve everyone'. This was followed by his reading an extract from the Daily Mail (Massey, 1994) which had the title 'The Dunce at the Front of the Class'. The article was a report on the recently published 'Primary Matters' (OFSTED, 1994). The author of the newspaper article summarised some of the critical themes of the report. The article concentrated particularly on teacher ideology, teaching methods, classroom organisation and the ineffective management of teachers' work by headteachers. Some quotations from the article will give an indication of how the writer presented 'Primary Matters' findings:

Trendy teaching has left many primary school classes struggling against a tide of ignorance, a report says...

Some teachers have failed to master their subjects and often give pupils the wrong answers to questions. Others do not even bother to teach at all, leaving children to learn by themselves from worksheets, the report by Government inspectors revealed yesterday....

The report could herald the return of the blackboard, which disappeared from thousands of schools as progressive educational theories of the 1960s and 70s took hold. Inspectors say a change in the culture of the classroom is needed - a return to traditional teaching methods - including spending more time on the three Rs...

Pupils should be in groups or classes according to their ability and teachers should be specialists in their subjects. More formal teaching of the whole classes should replace the tendency to group pupils round tables to work at their own pace at nebulous 'topics'...

The inspectors visited 49 primary schools and found that more than a quarter of lessons were not up to scratch. In nine out of ten cases, bad teaching was to blame and the size of a class made no discernible difference, says the report, *Primary Matters*...

Even headteachers are criticised. Their main method of checking whether their school is doing its job properly involves 'walking about a bit, having a chat and gathering information in an unsystematic way', one inspector says...

We must be aware of the likelihood of distortion, bias and political intent in media reports of official policy (Ball, 1990a; Alexander, 1992). The particular focus and tone of this article resembled what Ball (1990a) has argued is a 'discourse of derision', which undermines 'progressive' teachers and constructs as an absent presence, the media version of the 'good' teacher. The main thrust of '*Primary Matters*', as argued in chapter 1, was that full and proper implementation of the National Curriculum, as a subject curriculum, and increasing standards, was being delayed owing to lack of certain teacher competences. This message was communicated graphically in the newspaper.

The Headteacher, after reading the extracts, said, 'the article makes a contrast between good and poor teaching and whether we like it or not people read this'. He went on, '... the (inspection) report said I wasn't tapping subject co-ordinators to help with their subjects...I wasn't releasing co-ordinators'. He then read out an extract from the subject report on mathematics which said that

the co-ordinator for mathematics is well qualified, experienced and supportive to colleagues but she does not have the opportunity to work alongside less experienced teachers in order to identify and disseminate good practice and to provide further training.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

The importance of planning was then stressed by the Headteacher:

If we don't have good primary practice kids won't get to Further Education. We've got good teachers throughout the school. Planning is part of that. We don't say, 'Well we'll just go up the Downs', planning is important.

He then read from another Daily Mail article about a school that had left a boy behind whilst returning from an outing to the seaside. The Headteacher said that the school involved 'should be shut down today', this story was followed by another quotation from 'Primary Matters' pointing out that 'it had huge sections on subject specialism and planning'. He then warned of the likelihood of another inspection, and then returned to the theme of planning and the importance of collaborative work to spread subject specialist teaching

It's no good sitting there telling people I'm no good at Maths, PE, Art etc. We have those people in school, it is clear in the report...

...we need to involve learning support and other colleagues in planning. It's about being a team. Planning has been better in some areas than in others. My job is not to go round awarding stars. I expect you to behave professionally

It seemed quite clear that the Headteacher knew of some teachers who were not planning co-operatively and possibly departing from school and national policies. This view was supported by the Maths co-ordinator who claimed,

you get their plans and it all seems fine but it's not being done that way. That came out in the inspection report as well - that what is in policy is not happening in the classroom.

In the context of the INSET day on planning, the teachers and Headteacher had been placed in the gaze of discourses derived from the media, the HMI inspection report and the OFSTED report on the implementation of the National Curriculum. This was particularly poignant when overhead projections of the inspection report and extracts of 'Primary Matters' were used. The Headteacher used, what I considered to be, contrastive rhetoric (A. Hargreaves, 1980b), when reading the extract of the child left behind on the school trip. By

citing an example of extreme and gross unprofessionality and how it was viewed and recorded by the media, he was warning the teachers that they must not be caught in this judgemental gaze. The use of the 'discourse of derision' (Ball, 1990a) brought 'misconducts' in the areas of curriculum, assessment, pedagogy and evaluation into the domain of extreme unprofessionality. Practices which were likely to attract censure from the originators of these discourses, for example, not planning or careless 'progressive' teaching, must be avoided. The Headteacher seemed to be saying that by working and planning collaboratively and by monitoring ourselves and each other this kind of attack on our professionalism can be countered. Through self-surveillance the teachers would be expected to police their own work and that of colleagues. How that work was defined would be influenced by versions of teaching derived from dominant official, media and inspectorial discourses.

The Headteacher's talk on planning day was followed by one from a member of the senior management team (Mary) who was chair of the SDP planning group. She showed the staff an overhead projection of a standard topic planning sheet for weekly lesson planning. She asked the staff to use the standard sheet rather than their own, and quoted a section on planning, from the inspection report. It was explained to the teachers that during the inspection she had been called into the head's office to help the inspectors understand the different planning formats which were being used in the school. The inspectors wished to know which subjects the teachers would be teaching at any particular time in order that they could plan their observations in terms of subjects. The plans which the teachers had submitted at the beginning of the inspection were not generally arranged in terms of subjects. She explained to the teachers that,

I was the one who had to justify planning to the inspectors. I went into the office with the topic webs. They said, 'How do you know what people are doing?'. They were looking at non-standard ways of doing things and they couldn't find what they wanted. They liked Elizabeth's, they could understand it. Could you start using this

one which has been produced by the (LEA) Science and Humanities team?

(Mary, Humanities Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher, Senior Manager)

She then showed the staff an overhead projection of the nine term vision to demonstrate the progress which the senior management team had made with their planning. Monitoring dates for all of the school policies were shown on the plan.

The co-ordinators routinely collect in the lesson plans of the teachers to scrutinise them for 'gaps' in the curriculum. This process of school-wide self-surveillance also allowed the opportunity for matching policy with practice, at least on paper.

Impression Management

With schools being placed in competition with other schools, and needing to attract sufficient finance through pupil numbers, they now need to take care about the type of image they project (Ball, 1994). It literally pays for schools to present themselves in the best possible light. Through the adoption of marketing strategies like the promotion of school uniform and discipline the school can present a front (Goffman, 1959) to the community (particularly potential parents), which suggests that the school promotes traditional values and order. Increasingly schools are engaging in marketing exercises and advertising by issuing expensively produced glossy brochures (Hardie, 1991). Jeffrey and Woods (1995) have described the ways in which individual teachers present a front to inspectors during the inspection week by adopting practices which depart from their preferred ways, but which are judged to impress the inspectors. In this way the teachers can manage the impression (Goffman, 1959) the inspectors have of them and thus avoid criticism and possible discrediting of the self. Schools, too, must manage the impression that others have of them. Indeed, a principal purpose of the inspection process is to provide parents with information on which they can base their choice of schools in the education market place. It is claimed that markets work best when there is maximum knowledge available about competing products. In the town in which the case study school is situated, schools which had

received favourable OFSTED inspection reports made copies of the report available to the community and published a summary report, usually a whole page, in the local newspaper.

The Headteacher of Meadowfields thought that external relations were a highly important aspect of managing the school in a competitive environment. During the research, he was president of the county primary headteachers' association and would often appear in the local media. At Christmas, the local newspaper would be invited to take photographs at his school of infant angels preparing for the nativity play. For two years running, these photographs were printed on the front page of the paper. In staff meetings, the Headteacher would often warn the teachers of the consequences of giving the local and national media the opportunity of making a negative report on the school. Many national and international visitors were invited to tour the school, and the community were involved in major ways and, therefore, were in a position to observe its work at first hand.

The school needed to show to outsiders, like inspectors for example, that it was a rational, efficient and effective organisation which had planned carefully in order to implement and evaluate national and school policy. It needed ways of showing them it was providing value for money education. The school development process and plan acted as the means of demonstrating many of these aspects to outsiders and to indicate that the school was, as the Headteacher said, 'doing the right things and going in the right direction'. A Year Two teacher explained that the purpose of the SDP was 'to tell you where we are going'. The idea that the plan would be scrutinised by outsiders, including inspectors, and that the school must project the correct image or front was captured by the Headteacher's instruction to the senior management team when they were starting the planning process, 'We need to show what we intend to do, even if we don't end up doing it'.

In their planning the senior management team concentrated on what they thought the inspectors would be looking for. That included, among other things, addressing the criticisms of the previous plan. It also meant giving a clear indication, in the form of a timetable, of when National Curriculum subjects would be implemented and how they

would be developed. All of this needed articulating with finance and staff development. They had difficulty in doing this owing to the constant changes in the curriculum and assessment orders. At the time of planning they were awaiting the outcome of the Dearing Review (1994), which was attempting to rationalise curriculum and assessment by 'slimming it down'. The future was uncertain, yet the team felt that they needed to show the pattern of implementation and development in the nine term vision. In the process of producing it there were indications that the plan was being formulated, not because it was particularly useful for the school, but because the senior management team imagined that anybody (including inspectors) could walk into the school and demand to see it. One of the senior management team said,

Do we need a school development plan folder, so to speak, or whether just to have it available? If somebody says, 'Have you done policy reviews?', we can say, 'Yes', and just hand it down.

(Mary, Humanities Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher, Senior Manager)

This concentration on what they thought would be looked for by observers, that they were successfully implementing the National Curriculum, led to the marginalisation of some of the central interests and developments in the school. It was these which, arguably, held the most potential for school improvement. For example, the school had put a great deal of effort and resources into developing home/school links, the involvement of parents in the curriculum, extra curricular activities and liaison with a nearby comprehensive school. A home/school links co-ordinator had been appointed. She supported the work of class associations which had been created to involve parents, governors, teachers and pupils in teaching and learning. She involved children and parents from a nearby comprehensive school in order to improve liaison during transfer from Year Six to Year Seven. One initiative which had come about as a result of this work was the introduction of the teaching of French in Year Six in order to prepare the children for transfer to secondary education. The home/school links co-ordinator ran a Saturday morning French language club for parents and children. This work was reported in the national press and eventually attracted considerable funding from a national

organisation which was promoting innovative schemes of parental involvement in primary schools. A strong and central element of the ethos of the school was that learning took place best in the context of partnership between school and home. These were all aspects of the school which HMI had praised in the inspection. While these initiatives appeared on the SDP they were overshadowed by concerns with national policy.

The teachers seemed well aware of what was expected of them and what kind of image to project in an inspection. During a Maths INSET session the co-ordinator showed an overhead projection of an extract from the inspection report. In response to the criticism it contained, she urged the teachers to plan and teach more investigative work rather than relying on published Maths schemes. She stressed that 'we need to do this before we're inspected again'.

As the majority of teachers had not been involved in formulating the plan, they had to have the process of its construction, and the plan itself, explained to them by the Headteacher and members of the senior management team. A number of staff meetings were devoted to this. The Headteacher made sure that he rehearsed with the teachers what the plan was and what it contained. He said that if an inspector came in and asked a question about the plan, for example, if they knew what a SDP was and what it was for, they needed to give a convincing answer. The staff were told to remember particular details of the plan's contents in case an inspector sought an explanation. For instance, the school's Maths co-ordinator and member of the senior management team had developed a mode of formative assessment which she had named FATs (Formative Assessment Tasks), for short. The teachers were briefed about the meaning of this acronym in small groups at a staff meeting. In staff meetings not focussed on the plan the staff would be given gentle reminders not to forget about it. At the end of one meeting the Headteacher jokingly asked the teachers to bring their copies to the next meeting. He suggested they had probably forgotten all about it, but if 'they searched through their filing cabinets it was likely to be filed away under 'School Development Plan'.

The plan seemed to be taking on a life of its own by becoming more removed from school life and teaching and learning in the classroom. These were the very things it was meant to be improving. The teachers' immediate concerns lay in the classroom and in teaching and learning. For example, the move to standardised planning sheets meant that many of the teachers were having to duplicate their planning. Firstly they planned in their own way, for their own use. Then they completed the standardised proformas for submission to each of the nine subject co-ordinators. There was clearly a tension between the monitoring and review procedures required by the management system and the idiosyncratic, and presumably effective, systems developed by the teachers. Additional time needed to be spent on the duplication of plans. This obviously added to the intensification of the teachers' time, and ate into 'real' lesson planning, preparation and teaching. This has implications for school improvement.

On one occasion, during one lunchtime break, the Deputy Headteacher opened an envelope in the staffroom. It contained a letter about school development planning which had been sent by the LEA. Waving the large manilla envelope above his head he told the crowded room what the letter was about, and said, 'One day, they're going to send us something which is about teachers and kids'. The Maths co-ordinator told me after a long staff meeting on the plan that she did not 'think it would change anything in the school'. When I asked a Year Four teacher about her views on the plan, she seemed confused as though she was not sure exactly what I meant. She showed me her personal lesson planning. It was in a hard-backed exercise book rather than on the standardised planning sheets. She considered that was more useful to her and her work with the class than the development plan. The nine term vision was seen, perhaps, as an irrelevance to her life in the classroom.

Criticising

And that's where the resentment comes from because we've been forced to accept certain things.

(James, Headteacher)

It might seem from the discussion so far that the teachers and Headteacher accommodated to and complied with the imperatives of inspection and self-management passively. Other forms of accommodation were, however, evident. The Headteacher although using extracts from the tabloid press to engage in contrastive rhetoric and seemingly contribute to a discourse of derision himself, said that he did not align himself with the substance of the criticism of teachers. But there was a resignation to the way things are when he said, 'Whether we like it or not, people read this'. Criticism was apparent in his articulated thoughts concerning the inspectors. The local inspectors, whose visits he led his staff to anticipate, were the object of the Headteacher's publicly expressed criticism. At the same INSET day in which the official views of HMI reports and 'Primary Matters' had been placed alongside Daily Mail stories and articles, the Headteacher held up local inspectors as objects of ridicule. He told the teachers that one of the inspectors, following a visit to the school, had said that 'it was such a good school I would like to work here'. The Headteacher told the teachers that this inspector could not work in a primary school and that he, 'wouldn't like him working in this school because he couldn't organise a piss-up in a brewery'. He then referred to all the local inspectors (who were also OFSTED inspectors). 'They're all auditors, they're all accountants, they know nothing about primary schools'. This seemed to be denying the legitimacy of the inspectors and the commercial discourse and criteria in which the inspection process is embedded. It was also suggesting that in his eyes the inspectors lacked credibility as being experts on primary schooling. The Headteacher further attacked the legitimacy of education officials in the 'new order', and the injustice of schools being accountable in so many ways (including inspection), while the Secretaries of State, who had created the new conditions, were unaccountable in the same sense and not subjected to the same modes of control as schools:

No one is going to do an HMI job on John Patten*

(James, Headteacher)

The Headteacher also acknowledged before the staff that,

we've done a lot of things which have been a waste of time, galloping along to implement faulty things, for example, the SATs.

Publically articulated criticism of this kind seemed to be a strategy used by the Headteacher to accomplish several things. For instance, to cope with the many conflicts inherent in managing the implementation of government policies. But also, to distance himself from official policy, express sympathy with the teachers' position, win allies and gain support. A staff united against a common foe.

Fragmentation

As reported in chapter 3, the case study school has an informal collaborative culture (A. Hargreaves, 1994a) and co-operation was a value which was central to the ethos of the school (see chapter 3). There was, however, some evidence of contrived collegiality (ibid.) as teachers were formally required to work in systems and structures in the formal organisation and were required to work toward goals they may not share. This was observed in policy working groups and the process of school development planning.

The process of formulating the SDP revealed, perhaps even caused, a hierarchy and a fragmentation of groups and relations in the school. The development planning was carried out almost wholly by the senior management team. This control of the process and

* John Patten was Secretary of State for Education for most of the research period. Towards the end of my time at the school he was replaced by Gillian Shephard.

separation from the other teachers led them to be referred to as the 'cherries on the cake', the 'elite', the 'powers that be' or 'those that do'. Pat, the early years' co-ordinator, who was not a member of the management team, referred to them as 'chiefs' and herself as an 'indian'. In conversation she told me that:

I mean, you know what the hierarchy is in the system and where you have to go for the right information and the right running of the school, shall we say. You're speaking to one of the minions now.

A year four teacher explained that 'junior teachers were not involved' in development planning. A year two teacher who was part of the management team expressed surprise when she found out that an INSET day, involving the whole staff, was to be held in an hotel in the town and lunch would be provided. She claimed that occasions like this would normally just be attended by the Headteacher and senior management team. That this should seem unusual suggests that the norm was separation between senior managers and the other teachers. Despite this separation many of the teachers seemed very willing to leave development planning to the planning team. A year two teacher said that she thought that the management team were the ones 'who had drawn the short straw', and a part-time teacher was 'pleased somebody is willing to do it'. On the other hand, a minority of teachers seemed very willing to be part of management. An early years' teacher who was a member of the senior management team and teacher governor (Mary) felt that this involvement made it possible to engage with the intricacies of self-management, whereas 'the other teachers didn't really understand it'.

Governors, too, were not involved in development planning. Some members of the senior management team developed strategies to exclude them. For example, inviting them to the planning meetings which had been organised at inconvenient times in the early evening. The timing of these meetings served a double function: while it ensured that governors would not turn up, it also demonstrated to the governors how hard the teachers worked, after the children had gone home. One governor who was a political representative from the LEA,

complained about not being involved in the planning. She said she had 'been on a course on school development planning and had lots of questions to ask them and wanted some answers'. An early years' teacher on the senior management team (Mary) was annoyed with this governor's attitude, and said, 'Well, if she's so knowledgeable she can come along and give us some training in school development planning' (only one of the six members of the management team had had any training for their role in development planning). In the event of governors reacting in this type of way the senior management team asked the Headteacher to 'control' a governor, or to 'move' them to another sub-committee. However, when the nine term vision was eventually 'presented' to the governors the recalcitrant governor was described as 'alright about it, and pleased'.

The parents were not consulted in the planning stage. After the plan had been produced, the Headteacher arranged an evening for interested parents to be presented with it. In practice, rather than communicating details, he just quickly explained to them what a SDP was, and said that the school welcomed their involvement. He then spent the remainder of the meeting showing them the architect's plans for the new school extension. Consequently, many of the parents seemed confused about the purpose of the meeting - they had come along to see the building plans, and didn't appear to think that the development plan was that important. At the end of the meeting, all of the questions the parents asked, save one, were related to the new building. One parent referred to the Headteacher's previous talk on parental involvement and development planning, and asked if parents had an input into class size as her child would be in a class of thirty six children when entering Year Six, and she thought that this should be reduced. The Headteacher seemed embarrassed by this, but said that 'the bottom line is finance, and only I can take the tough decisions'.

The Headteacher was not present at two of the most important senior management team development planning meetings. On both occasions he was involved in external relations, once talking on local radio about the length of the school week and once attending a meeting of the county headteacher's association. His absence, however, did not diminish his power and influence on the planning process. The senior management team carried out planning in

an atmosphere of uncertainty as they had to anticipate the changes that would be made by Sir Ron Dearing. They also lacked other knowledge vital to the planning process. In trying to articulate finance with the other factors in the strategic plan, they encountered difficulties because they did not know the size of the budget they would be allocated. From this stage of planning, to the completion of the plan, both the senior management team and the Headteacher were ignorant of the size of the budget, because these details had not been released by the LEA. This seemed to be the usual situation in the school. The senior management team were unable to plan effectively because they were unaware of the financial implications of adding certain developments to the plan. For instance, they lacked information on systems and finance. In the process of adding items to the plan, this exchange took place between members of the senior management team:

We had premises down as opposed to buildings, because with buildings would that imply everything else as well, like being painted?

We haven't got anything in there at all. I wonder if anything happens annually like an annual inspection of buildings.

Excuse me, but there are things like the gardeners and the grass cutting, lines on the playground - these people turn up don't they? We need to find out who pays, the school or the county?

Most of this information was held by the Headteacher and the school's finance officer who would have the 'final say' on these aspects of the plan. In this as in other areas of the self-managing school, it was the Headteacher who was the 'critical reality definer' (Riseborough, 1981) and acted in isolation from teachers, governors and parents.

Conclusion

If inspection is considered as a form of auditing and self-management as a form of control, we can conceptualise the relationship between the two systems using Michael Power's (1994) analysis, which states,

audits generally act indirectly upon systems of control rather than indirectly upon first order activities. What is being assured is the quality of control rather than the quality of first order operations. Accountability is discharged by demonstrating the existence of systems of control rather than by demonstrating good teaching, caring, manufacturing, banking etc. Audit is a control of control.

(ibid. p. 19)

The fact that so much of the teachers' activities were directed to complying with the demands and fulfilling the anticipated wishes of external 'experts', led to the development of a culture of compliance in the school. In this type of culture,

the necessity of having an audit system impacts on real-time practices. Compliance games will arise. Performance measures will increasingly not correspond to the first order reality of practitioner's work. The ideal of auditability may eclipse the development of first order standards themselves. Audit begins to take on a life of its own and is increasingly de-coupled from the events it is intended to address.

(ibid. p. 37)

Jeffrey (1995) has used the powerful metaphor of 'undressing' in order to help him fully explicate the experience of OFSTED inspections in the primary school. In the inspection process,

the teachers are undressed in that all their thinking and their professionalism is laid bare for examination. They have first of all to show the details of all their planning and thoughts. Their 'heads are opened up for investigation'. These details are contained within the curriculum policies, schemes of work, termly, weekly and daily plans, records and evaluations they are exhorted to display. The attention to detail forces teachers to pay attention to the blemishes upon their body and marginalises the opportunity to stand erect, open one's body widely and proclaim one's being as in the expression of one's values and beliefs.... They are quizzed as to the organisation

of their curriculum responsibility in terms of how they measure achievement and how they monitor other teachers. They are also quizzed about the general organisation of the school to provide evidence of implementation of published policies. So the school itself is unclothed for examination as are the teachers.

(ibid. pp. 1-2)

Following the inspection there is a period in which the school re-dresses itself in clothes which can hide the previously identified blemishes and successfully withstand future scrutiny from the inspectors:

It is assumed that things go back to normal with the departure of the inspectors. There are certainly indicators of this, for example: more activities immediately they leave, teacher testimony from some teachers indicating their intention to 'go back to what I think is right'. However, there is something fundamentally different. The school and the teachers have been re-dressed by OFSTED. The clothes may look the same, but they have been re-dressed with OFSTED's hands of approval or disdain. There is a new inner lining to their clothes, one which reminds them constantly that OFSTED's priorities and pedagogy are paramount and that OFSTED has the power to undress you, gaze at you and in the spotlight of their supporters, re-dress one with care or brutality as they see fit. They have effectively colonised the primary teacher's domain, their classroom and their identity.

(ibid. p.3)

I had no opportunity to observe the inspection of Meadowfields Primary School, but I consider that what I was seeing, recording and analysing in the aftermath of inspection was the process of re-dressing. In the self-managing school, it is the interrelation of inspection and processes such as school development planning which provide the mechanism and discourse for redressing the teachers and the school.

In this chapter we have seen something of the teachers' responses to the constraints imposed on them by inspection and self-management. Given the extent of the external and internal controls of teachers' work, and the increased diversity of their roles, it could be argued that the Meadowfields' teachers were experiencing intensification. My focus in the next chapter, therefore, is to consider the effects of the changed work on the teachers.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Intensification of Restructured Work? The Teachers' Experience

This chapter is in three parts. In part 1, I examine the teachers' perspectives on their work and explore some of the ambiguities of intensification. In part 2, these ambiguities are explored in depth through a detailed case study of one teacher's ambivalent perspective on her work as a subject manager. I argue that the intensification thesis does not provide the sole explanation of what is happening in the restructuring of teachers' work. In part 3, I consider the work of new headship. In a case study of the Headteacher of Meadowfields, I argue that, rather than intensification, he was experiencing 'extensification', a state of empowerment, in his new managerial role.

Part 1: The Effects of Restructured Work: Professionalisation or Proletarianisation?

Woods (1995a, p.3) summarises the intensification argument, as proposed by Larson (1980) and Apple (1986), as follows:

...as advanced capitalist economies seek to maintain and promote efficiency, so the sphere of work narrows, high-level tasks become routinized and there is more subservience to the bureaucratic whole. At the chalk-face there is more for teachers to do, including a proliferation of administrative and assessment tasks. There is less time to do it in, less time for reskilling and for leisure and sociability, and there are few opportunities for creative work. There is a diversification of responsibility, notably with a high level of specification and direction, and a separation of conceptualization in long-term planning and policy-making (others) and of execution (teachers). There is a reduction in the quality of service as corners are cut to cover the ground.

While there is broad agreement that teachers' work has intensified (Campbell and Neill, 1990; Winkley, 1990; Acker, 1990a; Campbell et al., 1991; Pollard, 1991 and 1994; Osborn and Broadfoot, 1992; Osborn et al., 1994; Pollard et al. 1994), there remains a debate over whether the changes are contributing to enhanced professionalism or proletarianisation among teachers. Both professionalising and deprofessionalising tendencies are noted in the research findings (Acker, 1990a; A. Hargreaves, 1994a; Campbell and Neill, 1994b; Evans et al. 1994; Woods, 1995a). Those who argue that teachers are being reprofessionalised, in addition to showing that teachers have acquired new curriculum and assessment skills, point to the professionalism it has required to implement the reforms (Acker, 1990a; Campbell and Neill, 1994b; A. Hargreaves, 1994a). Some authors have found that teachers introducing multiple innovations in a short time-scale and in unfavourable circumstances demonstrate exceptional 'conscientiousness' and 'vocational commitment' (Campbell and Neill, 1994b). These authors argue that the teachers have responded not through 'dull compulsion' (A. Hargreaves, 1994a, p.127), but because they care about the intellectual development and welfare of the children they teach. Critics of this view hold that teachers 'misrecognize' intensification, and the new found professionalism is nothing more than a 'rhetorical ruse, a strategy for getting teachers to collaborate willingly in their own exploitation as more and more effort is extracted from them' (ibid. p.118; see also Densmore, 1987).

In this chapter, teachers' work at Meadowfields is considered as a 'critical case' (Hammersley, 1992) of the intensification thesis. The intention here is to problematise the concept of intensification. Although data from a single case study cannot 'prove' or 'disprove' the thesis, a new test in new circumstances can contribute to the development or modification of the thesis. While some of the claimed elements of intensification were present, and broadly support arguments of intensification, some of the data questions the intensification thesis. I argue, in consequence, that the elements of the thesis are ambiguous, the empirical data derived from the case study, in many cases, supporting both professionalisation and deprofessionalisation arguments.

The structure of part 1 is as follows: following A. Hargreaves (1994a) and Campbell and Neill (1994b), I draw out a series of propositions from the intensification thesis; these are then subjected to empirical questioning by the case study data. In this analysis I present data which bears on some aspects of intensification more than on others. This is because I found that some of these propositions were more relevant than others, in the context of the case study, for example proposition (8) listed below. I begin by stating the intensification argument.

The Intensification Thesis

From Apple's (1986) explication of the thesis which was discussed earlier (see chapter 2) it is possible to tease out eight propositions, these are as follows:

- (1) Intensification leads to reduced time for relaxation during the working day, including 'no time at all' for lunch.
- (2) Intensification leads to lack of time to keep up in one's field.
- (3) Intensification reduces opportunities for interaction with colleagues.
- (4) Intensification reduces the quality of service by encouraging cutting corners.
- (5) Intensification creates a chronic work overload, leads to the diversification of responsibility and with it a heightened dependency on experts.
- (6) Intensification creates and reinforces scarcities of preparation time.
- (7) Intensification is voluntarily supported by many teachers and misrecognised as professionalism.

- (8) Intensification brings about a separation of conception (managers) from execution (teachers).

A. Hargreaves and Campbell and Neill do not include proposition (8). This is a curious omission since it seems central to arguments concerning deprofessionalisation that there is a separation of teachers and managers, and that teachers' work is increasingly subjected to stronger direction by managers as skill is removed from it. I discuss each proposition in turn after providing some details of the case study teachers.

Background

As I argued earlier (see chapter 2) the school was considered by many to be a 'good' school. Given the centrality of teachers in the education of young children, it might therefore be inferred that the teachers at the school were generally 'good' teachers. HMI in their informal discussions with the Headteacher had described many of the teachers as 'beacons of light' whose expertise should be shared in the school. In the inspection report it was stated that,

the quality of teaching overall is satisfactory or better in 85% of lessons.

Some teachers use a broad range of teaching techniques which include problem-solving, investigating and critical analysis.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

The key issues identified by the inspectors included a recommendation that the governing body should,

maintain the many strengths of the school - the teaching of high quality, the parental involvement and support, the pastoral care and concern, the ethos of

the school and the dedication of the staff.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

As we saw in chapter 3, the majority of the staff had been appointed by the Headteacher to further his vision of how the school should develop.

I shall now consider each proposition in turn.

(1) Intensification leads to reduced time for relaxation during the working day, including 'no time at all' for lunch.

None of the teachers, in conversation or interview, recalled a golden age of primary teaching, before the reforms, when they enjoyed unlimited opportunities for relaxation during the working day. One interpretation which can be made about this is that primary teaching may have always had pressures that worked against relaxation. Lunch 'on the hoof' while preparing for the afternoon session, or perhaps a meeting, club, hearing readers or participation in a sports event may have been features of the primary school lunchtime before. However, there was evidence that during the research period the teachers' work was expanding into periods at school and home which are normally associated with relaxation. At school, the brief time for relaxation during the school day was eroded. The amount of time that the teachers could spend in the staffroom at lunchtime was severely curtailed for two reasons. First, the 'dinner ladies' (sic) were experiencing difficulty in maintaining order in some classrooms where children were eating packed lunches. The teachers felt obliged to stay with these children because difficulties at lunchtime were having a knock-on effect and adversely affecting afternoon lessons. Secondly, the Headteacher wanted the teachers to stay in their classrooms for most of the lunchtime break because the playground was unfit for use owing to building work. This meant that the teachers had little opportunity to retire to the 'back region' (Goffman, 1959) of the staffroom for relaxation and association with colleagues in a context where presentation of a professional 'front' could be relaxed. Time

away from the 'front region' of the classrooms normally serves as an important professional pressure release valve. Campbell and Neill (1994b) although lacking evidence to 'show *reduced* relaxation time in the school day, against some unspecified baseline in the past' (p. 211) showed that the majority of teachers in their sample 'enjoyed much less time in the school day for relaxation than the amount they were officially allocated and in relation to breaks to which they were statutorily entitled' (p. 211).

When Frances was asked in interview if her work had affected her leisure, she replied 'what leisure?'. There was evidence that work was spilling over from the context of the school and filling some of the teachers' time for rest and relaxation. Teaching, and the other work associated with it, was seen, by some teachers as a continuous process, and one not confined to school. An early years' teacher (Mark, Reception/Year One) claimed that although he 'finished at three o'clock his brain took three or four hours to unwind'. Many teachers found their work difficult or impossible to quantify. They could not say how much time they spent on planning and preparation because apart from their individual and group planning sessions they would find that they were '...planning in the shower and planning in the car' (Mary, Humanities Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher, Senior Manager). Work volume made it necessary to plan at week-ends and holidays on a frequent basis:

In the summer holidays I usually come in four or five days. I didn't this summer because I was planning my wedding and I really suffered for it. I've been in every week-end since we started school.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

Barry spent one summer holiday helping the Headteacher to paint and decorate the hall and staffroom. Owing to the number of after school meetings, extra-curricular activities were often held on Saturday mornings. This was the case for a French conversation class for parents and children and for some sporting fixtures. A whiteboard in the staffroom which bore details of daily events normally ranged from Monday to Saturday. On one occasion it

showed details of two teachers who would be in school on Sunday for special educational needs planning. Somebody had written next to this item, 'Wot No Church!'.

The amount of the teachers' work also had an impact on their domestic arrangements and relationships. When I asked Pat if work affected her personal life, she replied 'Ask my husband'. Some of the female teachers worked longer hours at school to avoid taking work home because they feared complaints from their husbands. Christine's (P.E. Co-ordinator, Year Three Teacher) husband was a headteacher of a primary school and she felt 'awkward' because her husband never brought work home. Elizabeth felt 'lucky' because her husband was a teacher:

It just takes longer and longer at home to do the stuff. Like I said it's lucky that my husband is a teacher and we plan at the same time in the evening. The other night I was standing in the kitchen and I went to write something down and my husband said, 'Stop you've done enough'. But he'd finished, so he thought I should finish. That's another thing which happens, he'd done enough work so he thought I should have done enough. But I said, 'Some things won't wait', some things don't do they?

(Elizabeth, Maths Co-ordinator, Year Three Teacher, Senior Manager)

Bernadette remembered what it was like when she wasn't teaching but her husband was:

He is a secondary teacher, he's got responsibilities, so his workload is very heavy. When my children were small and I was at home he came home tired and I wanted to talk to him but he had too much work to do. Now I am back at work we will both be working together (in the evening). We might not be talking to each other, but at least we will be together. In that sense it's easier

not missing his company.

(Bernadette, R.E. Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher)

Lillian found that thoughts of planning for the following week affected her participation in, and enjoyment of, family events:

If we've got visitors on a Sunday there's a complete panic in myself - I just want them to go home because I haven't done my work

(Lillian, Home/School Links Co-ordinator, Year Two Teacher)

There is evidence here that opportunities for relaxation in and out of school were being affected adversely by the teachers' work volume. However, some of the contributing factors to loss of leisure time were temporary in nature. For instance, once the 'dinner ladies' (sic) had been trained and the buildings completed this would 'free up' time for the teachers to relax in school. The teachers' current demonstration of care for the children shows the strength of their professional commitment, since this was a non-contractual task. This type of 'domestic' task has become part of professional work since lunchtime supervision was incorporated into teacher work during the second world war (Lawn, 1987). Recently, the state has remunerated such supervision if teachers formally (by signing an additional contract) undertake to do it. There is then no compulsion here and the state's action could be construed as a measure aimed to de-intensify, rather than intensify, work. The same interpretation could be placed on the government stipulation of the amount of time to be spent on contractual duties (1265 hours).

(2) Intensification leads to lack of time to keep up in one's field.

It is not clear from this proposition what 'keeping up in one's field' actually means. If it refers to participation in professional development which is aimed at improving teaching and

learning, then the Meadowfields' teachers engagement in INSET showed that they had many opportunities to 'keep up in their field'. I attended many INSET days and twilight sessions with the teachers. These were led by LEA advisors, advisory teachers or the staff themselves. The training provided was always implementation orientated and focussed on the National Curriculum and assessment. In addition to this, individual teachers attended courses organised by the LEA. Some undertook government provided twenty day courses for subject co-ordinators. The Headteacher took part in management training with the LEA and the county headteachers' group. Some do not consider this form of provision as professional development because it is merely concerned with efficient implementation of central policy rather than questioning the appropriateness of the policy itself (Hartley, 1985b; A. Hargreaves and Dawe, 1989). If 'keeping up in one's field', is interpreted as participation in award bearing courses, organised by institutions of Higher Education, in order to further knowledge of one's subject to an advanced stage or to critically reflect on policy, provision and practice, through educational studies, then the picture at the school was less encouraging. None of the teachers who responded to a questionnaire, which I circulated, indicated that they were involved in advanced study or read professional or academic journals. However, this may always have been a feature of primary teachers' work. Academics who return to teaching report the lack of time, motivation and energy to engage with the academic literature while trying to meet the many demands of the primary school workplace (McNamara, 1976). The SEN co-ordinator supported this view by saying that she had arranged for the school to take out a membership of a special educational needs association some years ago yet she never got time to read their monthly journal.

(3) Intensification reduces opportunities for interaction with colleagues.

During the research period there were reduced opportunities for the teachers to interact informally in the staffroom owing to the difficulties identified earlier in this chapter. However collaborative working was a central element in school ethos and the formal and informal school cultures. Not being able to visit the staffroom at break and lunchtime, no doubt, had some impact on the informal collaborative culture in that the teachers had less

time for staffroom conversations which they found very useful for reflecting on their work (see chapter 3). However, informal interactions such as between co-ordinator and colleague took place in contexts other than the staffroom or meetings. When asked when and where she gave advice on P.E. to colleagues Christine said,

Sometimes it's just when you're walking through the school when it's playtime or dinner time. Sometimes it's listening to what people are saying in meetings. Nine times out of ten it's because people just come up to you informally and say 'Look, I'm doing this and I'm getting a bit stuck, where do I go next?'

(Christine, P.E. Co-ordinator, Year Three Teacher)

Opportunities for interacting with colleagues formally would seem to have actually increased, by comparison with previous years (see chapter 3), owing to the teachers' involvement in compulsory collaborative year and whole-school planning and INSET, senior management team, staff, governor and working party meetings.

(4) Intensification reduces the quality of service by encouraging cutting corners.

Mark noted that although the number of meetings had increased greatly, owing to intensified work in the classroom, teachers were not in a position to provide quality participation in shared decision-making:

It probably takes two or three hours to unwind from everything that's happened because you don't have the time to reflect. And so you're playing around with situations that have happened during the day, the work that's gone on, what needs to be followed up tomorrow and how far you got with something - as soon as you sit down - oomph - your brain starts working overtime doing that. I think really that teaching is such an absorbing sort of

job that you're almost not capable of taking part in meetings.

(Mark, Assessment and INSET Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher,
Senior Manager)

Elizabeth was quite clear that although she was working harder she was not as effective as a teacher:

I don't think I'm teaching as well as I used to simply because I'm being asked to do too much.

And when talking about increased time spent in planning:

I don't think it's helped my teaching any. It's perhaps focussed me a little bit on the skills, on the development, but nothing else.

I think I work harder now but I don't teach any better

(Elizabeth, Maths Co-ordinator, Year Three Teacher, Senior Manager)

As work increased, the teachers cut corners to keep up with the work rate. 'Getting done' becomes more important than the quality of the work (Apple, 1986; Woods and Jeffrey, 1996b). Mark said, 'in teaching, things get busy and you're thinking, 'Well, if nobody is really pushing me for it (the completion of a task) I'll certainly give it low priority'. At the end of projects, large amounts of curriculum content are covered in short spaces of time to ensure curriculum targets were met. At the end of a Humanities topic, Elizabeth said,

Coming towards the end of half term you say 'God! I haven't done this, and I haven't done that and I've got to do this'. And we'll do half a morning on

the difference between a village, town and city...it just feels as though we're doing it in a mad rush at the end.

(Elizabeth, Maths Co-ordinator, Year Three Teacher, Senior Manager)

Published worksheets were used in Year Four to ease the work of teachers having to prepare all of the individualised learning packs themselves. Published and teacher-produced worksheets were used in Year Three to cover the topic work on the Vikings. Elizabeth reported to me that in previous years they would have spent much more time on this topic and gone into it in depth with the children dyeing wool with natural dyes and then weaving cloth with it. Now all of these experiences were achieved 'second hand' through the use of a video on how the Vikings lived. The two Year Two teachers swapped worksheets which they had prepared previously to save the work of them each having to devise new sheets:

...and we use the same worksheets don't we? Like one of us will come in on a Monday and say, 'Oh I've done this and it's a good worksheet' and you would say, 'Can I have six copies of that?'

(Karen, Music Co-ordinator, Year Two Teacher)

The use of published schemes was not compulsory in the school and cannot, therefore, be considered to be of the same order as Apple's (1986) teacher-proof packages which were held to deskill teachers. Indeed, Elizabeth, as Maths co-ordinator, spent much time in INSET sessions trying to persuade the teachers to devise their own Maths topics, or use her resources for investigative Maths rather than falling back on published schemes such as 'Peak Maths' or 'Maths Chest'. Despite this many teachers engaged in passive resistance to the initiative (Campbell, 1988) and persisted with the published schemes. While this can be taken as evidence that the teachers were using strategies which could impact negatively on the quality of teaching and learning there was also counter evidence of the teachers seeking to enrich the learning of the children in difficult circumstances. The teachers were,

seemingly, compensating in areas where quality might suffer. To do this they used 'resourcing' (Woods, 1995a). They enlisted the support of colleagues, LSAs, parents and outside 'experts'. The amount of collaboration in the school had increased following ERA (see chapter 3). As Bernadette put it '...we all pull together we had to to survive'. Many of the teachers 'swopped' lessons in curriculum areas in which they lacked confidence. Bernadette, for example, used her expertise to help a colleague while being supported in turn:

Shelley took my music because I said music was my worst subject. She took my music while I did her RE.

(Bernadette, RE Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher)

The music co-ordinator held singing practices with whole phase groups in order to give the teachers a small amount of non-contact time (one half hour per week). The teachers who were released during these sessions did not spend their time in association with colleagues but in planning and preparation for work with their own class. Nursery Nurse students from a nearby Further Education College worked with groups of children in Reception/Year One. BEd and PGCE students, who were deemed by the teachers as very capable, enabled the release of the class teacher to do administrative tasks. Teachers released in this way were also used to 'cover' the classes of absent colleagues thus preventing the class being 'split up' and allocated amongst the other teachers. The Headteacher took whole classes of Year Two children while the teachers conducted the SATs with small groups.

The LSAs were not usually engaged in the low-level tasks which Campbell and Neill (1994b) refer to. They would help with the problems arising from having to differentiate the pupils' learning experiences. They would prepare worksheets and teaching materials eg. games, often in their own time at home. They would work with groups of SEN children in the class, not just supervising them but teaching. At SATs time LSAs would supervise the rest of the class on 'holding' activities while the teachers tested small groups. Occasionally

they would read the whole class a story for ten minutes at the end of the day to release the class teacher to leave early for an extra-curricular activity (eg. driving a mini bus to another school with the netball team). LSAs would deal with paperwork and administrative tasks for the teachers.

The introduction of the National Curriculum has had the unintended consequence of infant teachers having less time to hear the children in their class read (Campbell and Neill, 1994b). At Meadowfields, parents would hear readers in the infant classes to support class teachers. Parents would work with small groups of children in class and also facilitate activities outside the classroom like pond dipping. Some parents provided subject expertise which the teachers lacked. A mother who was a medic was observed preparing and viewing slides and teaching the Year Six children how to use a microscope. Outside experts often compensated for 'gaps' in the teachers' knowledge. A retired engineer, Eric, worked with infants on the computer and gave input and support on Science and Geology topics. He was a committed Christian and once took assembly with all of the juniors. Barry said, '...it's great when Eric does assembly. You can tick off loads of RE attainment targets'. Laura, a local artist, ran the paper making session for an afternoon with all of the Year Four children. Stuart, a poet and sculptor with an international reputation, ran an Arts week with Year Six children.

Resourcing, increased teacher and LSA collaboration, and parental involvement have been put forward as features of extended not reduced professionalism (Nias et al. 1992). The teachers, through the use of others, were enriching their work through the National Curriculum in order to provide quality learning experiences (Woods, 1995a). This points to enhanced rather than diminished professionalism.

(5) Intensification creates a chronic work overload, leads to the diversification of responsibility and with it a heightened dependency on experts.

Workload and its increase or decrease is difficult to assess in the short time-scale of a study of this type. Historical studies suggest that the process of intensification, rather than increasing in intensity, from the early 1970s, onwards may have actually been worse in the early years of this century, in terms of teachers working harder and possessing less skills (Densmore, 1987; A. Hargreaves, 1994a; Campbell and Neill, 1994b). It is also hard to establish work overload when we lack a baseline for an 'adequate' or 'acceptable' workload. At Meadowfields, however, working hard and adopting increasingly diverse responsibilities seemed 'normal' teaching work.

Aspects and conditions of work which contributed to teacher workloads were as follows: incremental diversification of responsibility; meetings; paperwork; curriculum content; meeting targets; differentiating pupils' work; financial cuts; and extra-curricular activities. I discuss each in turn.

Incremental Diversification

Analysis of interview transcripts and fieldnotes revealed two distinct perspectives concerning teachers' experience of workload. Those teachers who had started teaching after the ERA and teachers who were re-entering teaching at this time experienced a sudden increase in their workload by comparison with former posts. One teacher who had returned to teaching in this country, after some years teaching in Europe, compared her current experience with that of pre-National Curriculum years - 'the workload has increased incredibly, I didn't do half as much work out of school as I do now, there is no time to do it all in school'.

For those teachers with continuous experience, stretching back to a period before ERA, increases in workload and the diversification of responsibility had been incremental. More and more was taken on while more and more seemed to be expected of the individual. As one teacher said, this type of increase is not sudden, 'it just creeps up on you' (Pat, Reception/Year One, Early Years' Co-ordinator). Lillian who had been pressured to take on

the unpaid role of Home/School Links Teacher which considerably added to her workload gave an insight into this process:

Brenda left to be a deputy head and James was left in the lurch. He didn't have anyone to take over home/school links. So Brenda had said to him 'Well Lillian will do it'. And I'm standing there saying, 'No I don't want to do this job, you know, I won't be paid for it Brenda'. But then because he was stuck and hadn't got anybody else that he could think of at the time to do it, I just said, 'Yes', in the end. So once you've said, 'Yes', then you've got to do it properly then, haven't you?

(Lillian, Home/School Links Co-ordinator, Year Two Teacher)

Sarah, the English and SEN co-ordinator, and prominent member of the senior management team, explained her experience of incremental diversification:

So really I've just been part of a change - a process of change - from day one, almost every year, I've had a new role or a new responsibility tacked on. So the very first year I arrived I was working with a member of staff who taught English, Humanities, or Maths from 10 o'clock to 11 o'clock or whatever. So the process of change then was working within groups having different things going on in the classroom all at the same time. Then I became a mentor for a newly qualified teacher. The following year I remained working with that teacher but then started looking specifically at special needs. I was a mentor for a newly qualified teacher again and started to look at health. Then I had a total change of year group. I'd always worked with the older juniors and having been in a middle school had sort of worked up to the age of thirteen. But then I went to year two and worked with the younger children. And so it's always been - I've always had something to learn. So for the National Curriculum, I don't know whether it had less of an impact

on me because I was always used to having to rethink and reorganise, or whether I was just so busy learning new things anyway that I thought, 'Oh to hell with it, and get on with it and do your best'. I don't quite know what my approach was.

(Sarah, English and SEN Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

Just 'getting on with it' and 'doing your best' and increasing responsibility in the job seems to have been a feature of teachers' work stretching back to before the recent reforms. It is a willingness which Campbell (1988) argues has been capitalised upon by restructuring policy makers.

Meetings

Some of the teachers reported the many meetings they had to attend. The school had scheduled staff meetings of three types, domestic, curriculum and policy working groups. One evening of each week, in rotation, would be devoted to each type. Additionally, members of the senior management team would have meetings either before or after school on a regular basis. Teachers would attend parent school association meetings, and those teachers who were on the governing body would represent the other teachers at governors' meetings. Class teachers held a parent surgery each week after school to inform parents of their child's progress. All of the teachers met regularly after school to make long, medium and short-term curriculum plans with colleagues in their year team. Planning sessions which were held prior to the commencement of term and were concerned with planning for the term typically took place in the holidays or in extended sessions after school. Some of these 'bring your sandwiches' planning meetings continued until ten o'clock at night. There were regular meetings, too, for INSET after school, in what the teachers referred to as 'twilight sessions'. A typical week for Frances was as follows:

I do feel the pressures on us now are pretty horrendous. You know this last week we were given four policy booklets. Well on top of everything else to try and read them and do a display - we have a pretty hectic week. I mean, Monday is the only night this week where I don't have a meeting after school. You know, Tuesday it's staff meeting, Wednesday it's parent interviews, Thursday it's sailing club and Friday it's team meetings. And then when I'm not sailing, I take them (children) skating on Mondays. So then the free evening is Thursday, but I still just get one free evening off a week. When I have to come back about half past four or five o'clock, then I have to do my prep, marking, displays and everything else we have to do. And that's why I often come in on Saturdays.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

This teacher also pointed out that attendance at these meetings was compulsory:

All these meetings aren't voluntary. Think how different it would be if you didn't have parent surgeries, if you didn't attend staff meetings, if you didn't have team meetings. I mean this week we have got a Science INSET tomorrow which doesn't finish till six, and then he (Headteacher) wants us all to go on Thursday to a language INSET which doesn't finish till six. Well, everybody is rebelling against that.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

Teachers resented the time devoted to many of the meetings which were not directly concerned with teaching, or preparation for it, and work with the children. The tasks which they considered as most important, for example, putting up displays, tidying the classroom, planning and preparing for the next day with their class and just 'pottering' in the classroom, to 'unwind', often had to be pushed back until a meeting had finished. This often meant that

these essential, and often time consuming, tasks were being started at five o'clock in the evening.

Paperwork

With the introduction of the National Curriculum, schools were sent huge amounts of policy statements and curriculum and assessment guidelines which the teachers had to spend time decoding and implementing. Sarah spoke of those early days:

Originally we were faced with a huge influx of information and paperwork, and at the time of the introduction of the National Curriculum we were led to believe that we should be doing everything that was stated within the documentation. And so we had reams and reams and reams of paper which we were trying to rationalise. How were we going to fit things in? It wasn't working basically we were trying to do World War II in a week and move on to the next bit and so we were trying to do too much.

(Sarah, English and SEN Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

Rather than being swamped and deskilled by the paperwork, the teachers, collectively, expressed their professional self-confidence by their 'writerly' appropriation of the policy texts (Barthes in Hawkes, 1977; see also Bowe et al. 1992):

The very first year of the National Curriculum we were running round chasing our own tails. So, very quickly we said, 'This is ridiculous, we can't cope with this, we'll all have nervous breakdowns'. But it was having the time and the courage to say, 'Well, this is what we can do well, and this is what we can actually leave'. Even though we were teaching this and this, that

could be left because we can develop those skills through something else.

(Sarah, English and SEN Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

Following ERA and the introduction of new management structures in the school the teachers experienced increasing bureaucratic demands which included the completion of documentation. This was associated with assessment, recording and reporting, curriculum planning and the formulation and dissemination of school policy. Increased workload was experienced as a result. In curriculum planning, the teachers had to submit long, medium and short-term plans to the Headteacher and the nine curriculum co-ordinators as part of the curriculum audit, monitoring and review processes. This meant a duplication of work which was considered as an unnecessary burden by the teachers, who considered the plans which they prepared for the daily work of their class to be the most important. The duplication of planning was seen to be 'phenomenal':

I can think of things which take up time and really irritate me. It's having to write out termly and half-termly plans, on so many bits of paper, when you're writing the same thing again and again and again. Like, for instance, this term we had to rewrite our Humanities and Science and Art and Music because the planning sheet had changed.

(Elizabeth, Maths Co-ordinator, Year Three Teacher, Senior Manager)

It just goes on and on. What I feel most sad about is the fact that I love to teach, but it's all this double writing down all the time. You don't write it down once for yourself and know you're conforming to the National Curriculum, photocopy it and let James have a copy. Oh no, no, no, no, you've got to do it this week then show progression. I've just had to redo P.E. It's only one sheet but it took me an hour and a half to do it. Well, you

could be doing something else.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

While the days of completing checklists had passed in the school, classroom assessment involved much observation and recording in order to chart individual pupil progress and demonstrate curriculum coverage:

...going back to the field trip. I was with a group of children and I was with Darren at one point and he said something about the quality of the clay that he was using. So I felt I must make a note like 'Darren and clay'. It may only be just 'Darren and clay' but I must write it somewhere, so that when I write the profile up you have something there that you can talk about. It's what you have to put down.

(Pat, Reception/Year One, Early Years' Co-ordinator)

Duplication of paperwork was evident in the area of assessment. At the time of the research the teachers had to complete a pupil profile and an end of year report for parents. Bernadette talking about recent changes in her work identified assessment and reporting:

The profiles and reports, particularly having to do both because we designed the profiles before we knew the reports had to be done. So in a sense that's duplication.

(Bernadette, R.E. Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher)

Curriculum Content

The National Curriculum for primary schools, at the time of the research, contained nine subjects. Each subject area has much prescribed content. Bernadette who had retrained as a primary teacher remembered that in the secondary school where she used to work as a Humanities teacher,

I taught probably three subjects, but here I'm teaching nine. So you're planning for each area. So in that respect the primary is greater workload because you're covering a wider base.

(Bernadette, RE Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher)

Frances felt some resentment that in an inspection her performance as a teacher would be judged on the basis of her coverage and expertise in nine subjects whereas the inspector was likely to be only expert in one:

You have the seven inspectors who are experts in their field. Every one is going to come in and expect high standards for their subject, but Joe Bloggs, me, I can't do that. I know my PE's not red hot, my RE isn't either although I'm quite keen on it. My Science is the area that bothers me. So those are the vulnerable areas. The others are OK I think. But these three areas I'm not fantastically happy with.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

Caroline, the newly qualified teacher was trying to teach two curricula, the 'old' pre-Dearing (1994) and the 'new slimmed down' version. She was dubious that the new curriculum involved less work:

You've got all these statements of attainment, but what they have done is taken about three things out of probably each curriculum area and just lumped it together. They have done exactly that in Maths. There were fourteen attainment targets and they cut them to five. So it's all a sort of con trick really.

(Caroline, Reception/Year One, Newly Qualified Teacher)

Elizabeth felt under pressure to cover the ground. For her, increased curriculum breadth meant decreased depth, and the abandonment of teaching for understanding in favour of transmission of content:

You could do a topic for a whole term and all the kids do a lot of investigative work and testing out their theories. Lots of making stuff to see if it works, and really delving quite deeply into a subject, but not just the facts of a subject, but how things worked. And that was fine spending a term on a topic. Now it's two a term and it's a nightmare. You've got to be feeding them information.

(Elizabeth, Maths Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

She also felt that the curriculum was not only overloaded, it was overloaded with content which was inappropriate:

I just think we're being asked to do too much in the sort of material way, the facts side. Personally I don't see the need for kids to have all these facts. I think they're filling up the timetable to the detriment of things that are much more important, like life-skills.

(Elizabeth, Maths Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

Here, intensification caused a tension between her preferred values and pedagogy and those which are prescribed. The new professionalism required that the ground was covered but Elizabeth recognised that this could be counter-educational.

Meeting Targets

Owing to the prescribed and overloaded curriculum (Campbell and Neill, 1994b) and the growth of accountability systems, the teachers felt that they should be meeting the targets which they had been set. This led some teachers to constantly check their coverage of the attainment targets. For instance, Pat said she was,

always going back and checking up on what I'm supposed to be doing for my preparation for the next day. Am I covering what I'm supposed to be covering? You're always going back and checking on areas of the National Curriculum, like the Science, History and Geography - checking that you're doing it.

(Pat, Reception/Year One, Early Years' Co-ordinator)

For those teachers who were involved with the end of Key stage SATs the pressure to meet targets was even greater:

We're so pressured to think well we've got to get through this, this and this.

(Karen, Music Co-ordinator, Year Two Teacher)

Because you want them (children) - whatever you say, you still want them to do well in their SATs. And you think, 'Well they've got to cover x, y and z. They've got to know this, they've got to do that, because they're capable. They've got to get it down because they're capable'. So you do push them.

It's like we warn the parents, the first couple of weeks of term we say to them, 'The children are going to have a hard year this year because there are things we've got to cover. We'll just be throwing new activities at them all the time'.

(Lillian, Home/School Links Co-ordinator, Year Two Teacher)

Having to meet targets was affecting spontaneity in teaching and learning and causing a pedagogic dilemma for Christine:

There was a time when I could go in and not have planned rigidly but know roughly what I wanted to do. And if it went one way or the other it didn't matter. Now I'm relying on that little blue planning folder. It says exactly what I'm going to do so I make sure the work I have planned gets done. And so if somebody comes off at a tangent I'm worried about letting that go because there is not enough time to put everything in. And that's the thing I resent, because I think some teaching should be just natural and if something comes up just go with it. It's so rigid and I worry about that.

(Christine, P.E. Co-ordinator, Year Three Teacher)

Differentiating Pupils' Work

Like A. Hargreaves' (1994a) Canadian teachers, the teachers at Meadowfields experienced intensification of work through integrating children who were defined, by the school, as having special educational needs (SEN) in their classes. In order to cope with a wide range of attainment within the class, the teachers differentiated the work and learning experiences of the children. This contributed to work in that it required extra planning, assessment and liaison with the SEN co-ordinator. Teachers tackled differentiation in a variety of ways. For example, Frances organised a scheme of individualised learning which involved the use of work packs directed at the needs of individual children. Frances said that,

One of my philosophies is that with these children I would like to keep thinking of independent learning. If you're going to set that up you've got to make it available to them and you've got to organise it. That takes time, energy and thought.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

Sarah, SEN co-ordinator, had experienced an increase in work owing to the integration policy:

We've had to become more rigorous in our record keeping, and we've developed a LSA team so that we can try to meet the needs of children within the classroom rather than having the children always going out of the classroom. And there's a lot of extra work and there will be more when the new (SEN) code comes in.

(Sarah, English and SEN Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

Release time, when it was available, was spent by this teacher one afternoon a week in a mix of catching up on administration and supporting SEN children in the classroom:

On a Tuesday afternoon, I have release time to go into classrooms and work with children who are causing particular concerns. So, for that afternoon, the first hour is meeting with the special needs advisory teacher, checking through our paperwork, reading letters from the educational psychologist, filling in forms for multi-professional assessment, ringing people up and setting out behaviour plans for individual children. So that's more of a special needs biased afternoon.

(Sarah, English and SEN Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

There are indications here of an enhanced professionalism. The newly created role of SEN co-ordinator was enhancing Sarah's curriculum, assessment and management skills to increase quality of provision for the special needs children.

Differentiation was also achieved through the creation of a 'Maths Stretcher Club' for children who were defined by the school as being particularly able at Mathematics. The purpose of the club was to make weekly after school visits to a nearby comprehensive school to take part in Mathematical activities with the Maths teachers there. These sessions involved the Maths co-ordinator and one other teacher (to drive the mini-bus) in several hours work each week after the school day.

A unit for hearing impaired children was annexed to Meadowfield, and children from the unit would have some lessons in basic skills in the unit but would also join a class for some of their curriculum. The philosophy of the unit was antithetical to sign language, therefore, teachers in the unit, and in mainstream classes would use radio-microphones to communicate with the hearing impaired children in their classes. They, therefore, needed training, not only in the use of the equipment, but in how to integrate the children into the class. Their day-to-day teaching, preparation and organisation of lessons would necessarily involve making differentiated and specific provision for these children.

Financial Cuts

During the period of the research, the LLEA, in which Meadowfield is situated, had a £16m cut in the grant they receive from central government. The immediate effect of this was a cut in the school's annual budget. As a result, two early years' teachers who were on temporary contracts did not have them extended and they left the school. A year later, when further cuts were experienced, two teachers were persuaded to take early retirement. The restructuring of the school following the departure of these teachers caused class sizes to rise. This was particularly acute in Year Six where each of the two classes contained thirty five children (previously this year group was organised in three classes each one containing

approximately twenty three children). Reduced staffing meant an increase in workload for those teachers who remained. Pat explained the effect of large classes on her work:

The reception group that has come in this term has thirty two children in it and obviously it's quite difficult to manipulate and to get really valuable input time to five groups. Four is fine but the extra group that comes in at Easter, it just diminishes their input time so they don't get quite so much. They probably have more play. But that is where I feel a bit sad. I don't find I have enough time to talk to them or just observe them because you're always giving an input somewhere.

(Pat, Early Years' Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher)

Financial cuts also meant that the budget for supply teachers was cut and that had two effects (see chapter 3). Firstly, the school could no longer afford to buy in supply cover in order to release co-ordinators to work collaboratively with colleagues or give some non-contact time for administrative work. These activities, of necessity, were still carried out but beyond the school day. Secondly, when teachers were ill, or out of school on interview or on courses, their classes were split up and distributed amongst colleagues, thus making their already large class much larger. One group of teachers, who were given the news in the staffroom, that they would be getting some extra children for the afternoon session, expressed resentment and said amongst themselves, 'That's not on, that's not fair'.

Extra-Curricular Activities

While extra-curricular activities were theoretically voluntary for the teachers, there were very strong expectations from the Headteacher that teachers would organise them. There was a wide range of lunchtime and after school activities. The school brochure, written by the Headteacher, and presumably produced for marketing purposes, lists the following:

The school offers a wide variety of sporting and creative activities outside school hours. Subject to the interests and availability of adults to organise them the clubs have included recorder groups, choir, football and netball clubs, table tennis, gym, conservation club, newspaper, karate, guitar, band, skating and sailing.

(School Brochure, 1994)

Each year group organised residential visits. Again there were strong expectations that the teachers would do so. The school brochure stated that:

We value greatly school visits since they provide a unique, 'real' experience for children to complement their learning.

(School Brochure, 1994)

Other experiences to enhance learning inside school and school hours were also organised by the teachers. They felt some compulsion to organise events in school that went beyond the 'normal' curriculum experience. Frances said,

Everybody has to produce dates and what they're going to do. Oh yes, there's no choice about it. Well, I suppose you could go and see the Head and say, 'I'm not going to do this'. But one has to be reasonably

circumspect, we need to keep a job. I have to keep my job.

(Frances, Year Four Teacher)

Even though many of the teachers' tasks were compulsory they held different meanings. The teachers would differentiate between work which would be likely to increase intensification,

for example, meetings, and work, such as extra-curricular activities, which, although contributing to workload, offered more opportunity for 'professional' satisfaction.

Working hard was part of the culture at Meadowfields. Although teachers explained their incapacity to keep up with the volume of work in personal terms, they frequently compared their work output with that of their colleagues. The teachers had a discernible work ethic and tried to keep up with each other. It was a school where there was 'no clock watching because I don't think people look too kindly on that' (Bernadette). Some teachers felt that they 'needed to be seen doing work' (Bernadette) and there was a recognition from a former chair of governors that the teachers were 'hardworking and not nine till three teachers like in other schools'. Supply teachers attended evening and whole day INSET sessions without being paid for attendance, in order to try and keep up with developments in the National Curriculum and demonstrate their commitment to the school, with the hope of further work being passed their way. It was usual for the teachers to work for many hours after the school day in meetings or preparation and planning. When collaboratively planning for the term, the teachers would bring sandwiches and work would continue, sometimes, until 10.00pm. Following one interview with the co-ordinator for infants, we walked around her department and she proudly proclaimed that all of the teachers were still there at 5.30 pm. One teacher who was a special needs advisory support teacher (SNA) hired on short-term contract from the LEA and contractually not obliged to attend school meetings, felt 'guilty at leaving situations', and tended not to leave school before her colleagues did. She still felt 'guilty' when missing school meetings even when attending essential administrative, co-ordination and training sessions at her unit in the county offices

The subject co-ordinators (practically the whole of the staff) had very diffuse roles along the lines of those advocated in official policy (see chapter 1). However, this seemed to be the case for some time and not just associated with the recent reforms. Increased diversification of responsibility seemed to be an aspect of enhanced professionalism rather than intensification. Indeed, teachers applying for promotion would, no doubt, have to demonstrate this aspect of their professionalism.

Dependency on external experts was evident in the teachers' use of published schemes for Maths. However, the reliance which some teachers had on published Maths schemes was being broken down by the Maths co-ordinator by encouraging the teachers to produce their own schemes of work and resources (see later in this chapter). The trend in the school, therefore, was away from using published schemes towards self-produced curriculum materials. This is the opposite of what the intensification thesis suggests. Additionally, curriculum co-ordinators were often the ones who ran the INSET sessions for their subject. The teachers depended on external experts (advisory teachers) for some SEN and INSET work. They relied on HMI to affirm the efficacy of their work (see chapter 4), and they used LEA produced 'off the shelf' policies to formulate school policy. However, the Maths co-ordinator was frustrated when she was informed that the LEA just required two sides of A4 for policies. She had committed much time and effort to producing a 'professional' Maths policy which was more comprehensive and meaningful to her. So, in this example we have a protest made at a measure which seemed intended to reduce the intensification of teachers' work.

(6) Intensification creates and reinforces scarcities of preparation time.

Preparation time during the school day has always been scarce in the primary school (House of Commons, 1986), so this proposition is not so relevant in a test of the intensification thesis. During the research period, non-contact time was not built into the timetable for all teachers. The use of supply teachers created time for some co-ordinators to deal with administration, curriculum planning for the whole-school and, in some cases, 'working alongside' colleagues. This system was superseded for a short time by the use of the 'floating' Deputy Headteacher to 'free up' teachers (see chapter 3). Informally, the use of students, LSAs and the music co-ordinator enabled teachers to be released for short periods in which they prepared for their own classes. Although financial cuts reduced opportunities to use supply teachers and the Deputy Headteacher, the staff still managed to 'create' some non-contact time.

(7) Intensification is voluntarily supported by many teachers and misrecognised as professionalism.

Vocational commitment is a popular explanation for teacher toleration of intensified work. A. Hargreaves (1994a) and Acker (1990a) argue that teaching is a vocationally driven profession in which vocational commitment 'inwardly' motivates teachers to meet the demands of intensification. The fact that teachers work hard, from this perspective, is 'not simply a matter of them bowing reluctantly to outside pressure' (A. Hargreaves, 1994a, p.126). Campbell and Neill (1994b, p.220) argue that primary teachers have a strong professional identity that is created from an 'extensive commitment to their pupils' welfare'. These latter authors claim that the reforms 'rode off the teachers' conscientiousness' (Campbell and Neill, 1994a, p.80). Conscientiousness is a term which is intended to embody notions of 'vocational motivation and a personal and moral sense of obligation to the perceived interests of the children' (ibid. p.216). This usually has great benefits for children but 'over-conscientiousness' is a main cause of teacher burn-out (ibid. p.224).

There are data from Meadowfields to support this view. There was the shared vision of the 'Meadowfields' way' (see later in this chapter) in which teachers were seen as having a shared responsibility with colleagues and parents for caring for, and bringing up, the children. The teachers had a strong sense of professionalism, and an aspect of this was the service ethic. Grace (1995, p.103) writes of headteachers in the adverse conditions of the 1990s drawing on a 'long (standing) professional and cultural response of 'making the best of it' for their teachers and pupils. At Meadowfields, not just the Headteacher but also the teachers shared this type of professional commitment. The Headteacher, talking about the teachers in his school and primary teachers generally, said,

Primary teachers are very, very creative and have an enormous ability to adapt things. I think we've always been prepared to say, 'Oh well, yes, we'll sort something out'. Where given the secondary sort of background, they say, 'No we're not doing that', so they don't do it. We adapt to everything,

you know. We'll put up with anything really, as long as it doesn't affect the children. So we try all sorts of things, even making ourselves ill to get it - so the kids get it.

(James, Headteacher)

The teachers reflected this commitment. They talked of: 'not letting the children down'. (Pat)... 'not letting the kids down'. (Bernadette)... 'we want the children to do well'. (Lillian)... 'we're here for the kids'. (Barry)... 'we're doing the best for the kids and not trying to short-change them in their education'. (Elizabeth)... 'the extra time for the kids is always going to be there'. (Elizabeth)

For Mary the pressure came from within, not from the external compulsion of a job specification:

Everybody was given a job description when we had the inspection. And the inspectors didn't seem very happy with them. Mine didn't really specify what my job was. I think we take things upon ourselves to do the job whether it's on the job description or not. If you consider something needs doing, you do it, you're not looking to see if it's on my bit of paper.

(Mary, Humanities Co-ordinator, Reception/Year One Teacher, Senior Manager)

The rewards of the job were not solely instrumental. Mary said 'if I was interested in money I wouldn't have been a teacher'. Mark and Caroline took a substantial cut in salary when they left their jobs in merchant banking to become teachers. They gained intrinsic rewards by 'working in a team with nice staff' and 'with nice kids'. Bernadette enjoyed the responsibility she had been given to work more closely with parents. Mary thought that accepting more responsibility and commitments was 'part and parcel of the job I've chosen'. The Meadowfields teachers expressed their professional commitment by 'just getting on with

it' and believing that 'a job's finished when it's done'. The teachers' frequently expressed commitment to children seemed to me to be an indicator of professionalism. Rather than viewing this as 'misrecognised' professionalism, I concur with Acker (1991) and Campbell and Neill (1994b, p.213), and found the teachers' views 'authentic' and 'convincing'. Further, like A. Hargreaves I considered it,

churlish to dismiss these deeply held commitments as misrecognised professionalism...these remarks reveal a classroom commitment to quality care, a professional and vocational commitment that cannot be summarily dismissed as a 'misrecognition' of trends towards intensification in the labour process of teaching.

(A. Hargreaves, 1994a p.132)

Although this form of professional commitment was strong and pervasive in the school, public assaults on teacher professionalism elicited anger from some of the teachers. Caroline the newly qualified teacher found the job 'stressful', 'pressured', 'hardwork', 'complicated' and

It really makes me mad when you think of the low esteem teachers have, but they are working hard and trying hard. But they are constantly being kicked about by people saying, 'Education, the standards are falling, children can't read and it's all the teachers' fault and there is more crime. And that's the teachers' fault because they're not teaching kids the difference between right and wrong'. People are saddling teachers because we are this body they can just label. That is what makes me so cross because I can see how hard everybody is working for those children.

(Caroline, Reception/Year One, Newly Qualified Teacher)

There were signs that the teachers might be adopting a more cynical view towards their work. Talking about how teachers' work is viewed by others, the Headteacher said,

I think the primary sector deserves as much time within their working day to reflect on what they're doing as secondary colleagues do, and anyone else in any walk of life. We work a full day teaching and then go home and do some planning at night. They think we're nuts. But we do that in education, we're daft really. Well, we've accepted it for a long time. I think the culture is changing. I think there's a greater hardening towards that kind of thinking.

(James, Headteacher)

This may indicate a more instrumental commitment setting in. Other research on intensification seems to view the teacher workforce as homogeneous and does not include analyses of the currently fragmented nature of the occupation. There is an increasing trend, nationally and at Meadowfields, to appoint young newly qualified teachers. Following the introduction of LMS and formula funding, many schools have found it cheaper to appoint younger, less experienced and sometimes less well qualified teachers (Lawn, 1995). These trends were well documented in the school governors' meeting minutes and reflected in the new appointments at the school. Heterogeneity was evident in the workforce in the school in that there was a core of permanent teachers and a periphery of part-time and temporary contract teachers (Lawn, 1995). Bernadette's experience of teaching was very much as a peripheral worker. Primary teaching has always been a predominantly female occupation and older women teachers have traditionally experienced difficulties in returning to work after breaks for raising children (Evetts, 1987). However, there were indications at the school that returning to teaching was becoming even more problematic. New routes back to teaching were emerging in the context of the deregulation of the teacher labour market. Bernadette's experience represents an extreme example of this, although other women at the school had returned in a similar way. After having children she took a 'return to teaching' course and retrained as a primary teacher, she had previously worked for many years in the secondary

sector. On completion of the course she would come into school as a parent helper to work with her child's class. When a vacancy as an LSA arose she applied for it and was appointed. Following a brief period in this role she was offered supply teaching work and eventually gained a series of one term temporary contracts. Her final year at the school was spent on a one year contract to cover for the teacher who was on extended sick leave and who eventually retired early with a breakdown pension. Bernadette felt that during the periods of temporary work she had to 'prove herself' because she felt 'on test' and that by demonstrating her effectiveness she was working towards being granted a permanent contract. This situation meant she had to 'keep on her toes' and demonstrate she could perform as well as the permanent teachers. She took extra unpaid responsibility as R.E. co-ordinator. She felt her ability to keep up with work rates of colleagues was being assessed and this would obviously be a key factor in her gaining permanent work. Her route back into teaching was, in practice, a probationary period, which afforded management the opportunity, lacking in the past, of assessing a teacher in action before committing themselves to offering a contract. Indeed in a period of mass unemployment and widespread teacher redundancy, working hard just to stay in a job is something all of the teachers, perhaps, were forced to consider. As Frances explained, 'you have to be circumspect, I have to keep my job'. In this situation, as in other employment sectors

the threats of substitution are, therefore, visually represented in the form of different groups of workers intermingling within the same workplace, each with their own particular conditions of employment to remind them of their position within the company's system of trust and value. So organised, workers live with the shadow of their use-value firmly attached to remind all other workers of the disciplining effects of the operation of the labour market.

(Menter et al. 1997, p.54)

In part 2 I look in detail at the complexity of a teacher's response to her intensified work as a subject manager. I develop the argument that intensification has professionalising and deprofessionalising potentialities.

Part 2: The Ambivalent Experience of Intensification: making the subject manager role

(8) Intensification brings about a separation of conception (managers) from execution (teachers).

In chapter 4, I argued that formulating the school development plan caused a separation of the senior management team from the other teachers. Although this goes some way to supporting proposition (8), the separation does not seem so clear cut when we consider the role of a member of the senior management team. Bowe et al. (1992) argue that intensification in the secondary school has produced conflict through the separation of managers and teachers. In this situation, it is those teachers who are senior managers, but are also members of the teaching staff (for example, deputy headteachers and members of the senior management team), who are caught between management and workers and experience considerable conflict owing to this role. The new role provides its own frustrations as occupiers of it 'now stand in a dual relation to the staff and to senior management. (They) 'understand' both parties, stand between and inhabit their two worlds, but feel unable to secure a permanent reconciliation' (ibid. p. 149). This kind of tension is likely to be experienced more acutely in the primary school where, in the new role of subject manager, the boundaries between management and teachers might be expected to be less clearly demarcated than in secondary schools. Indeed, new managerial roles in the primary school are providing opportunities for teachers and are offering a range of new professional identities, but the adoption of these is proving problematical (Maclure, 1993). Some aspects of the new teacher role provide opportunities for role enhancement, while others threaten to deskill teachers. There is, in the new role of subject manager a potential for role tension and conflict. Although Woods et al. (1997) argue that the primary teacher's traditional role as

generalist class teacher was diffuse and inherently conflictual, there is indication in recent research that, in the subject manager role, these aspects may be becoming pronounced (Webb and Vulliamy, 1995). Those teachers who are subject managers, and, as I have argued previously (see chapter 1), form the majority of the profession, were likely to experience heightened conflicts and role tensions for the following reasons:

- The introduction of market principles and management-led reform into primary schools is potentially at odds with the existing dominant ideologies of teaching (Ball, 1994).
- The unceasing drive to raise educational standards has ensured greatly raised expectations of the subject manager role (Webb and Vulliamy, 1995)
- Official role expectations for the 'subject manager' are now clearly specified. More explicit job descriptions now embody policy maker and headteacher definitions of the teacher's role (see chapter 1).
- Accountability procedures, such as school inspections, now focus in a major way on the subject manager role (Webb and Vulliamy, 1996).
- The changes in teachers' work has involved 'galloping role inflation' (Campbell and Neill, 1994b). Apart from their considerable managerial role (see chapters 1 and 3), the subject managers are also class teachers having to implement the National Curriculum, assessment and testing.
- With the growth of school development planning, the work of subject managers is linked more clearly with specific development targets (Webb and Vulliamy, 1996).

- With the demise of advisory teachers (Webb and Vulliamy, 1996), and the decline of LEA provided INSET, many subject managers may be solely responsible for the school-based development of their subject.
- Changes in organisation and role are taking place in a context marked by contradictions. For, whilst top-down managerialism is evident and the power and authority of the primary headteacher is undiminished, it co-exists alongside the discourses and practices of devolved management, flattened hierarchies, participative decision-making, collaborative work cultures, shared professional learning and teacher empowerment (Grace, 1995).
- The traditional factors of low levels of time, authority and resources on the co-ordinator's role seem likely to remain (Kinder and Harland, 1991).
- Role expectations are now being transformed to role obligations and role tensions are becoming constraints (Woods et al. 1997).

In the following section I explore the perceptions of Elizabeth, the Maths co-ordinator at Meadowfields. Her perspective, revealed in conversations, illuminates the changing nature of her work as a subject manager and exposes the ambiguities of intensification and the conflicts and tensions in the new role. Before I undertake this analysis, I will provide some contextualisation.

Background

All the teachers at the school, with the exception of newly qualified teachers, had a curriculum responsibility which included the supervision and monitoring of the work of their colleagues. However, it was Elizabeth who, in my estimation, approximated most closely to the official model of the 'good teacher' (see chapter 1). Elizabeth is fifty years old and has been in teaching for approximately thirty years. She spent a short time in secondary schools

before moving to the primary sector where she has worked for the large majority of her career. As a subject manager she had not received any management training. As argued in part 1 of this chapter, a general pattern seemed to be for the teachers to acquire additional management responsibilities as their careers progressed in the school. A key time in the allocation of these responsibilities had been in the aftermath of an inspection by HMI who instructed the school to formulate a new SDP which 'should include the redefinition of staff roles and responsibilities' (Inspection Report, February 1993). Co-ordinators of subjects which had been most criticised by HMI were replaced. Elizabeth had been appointed by the Headteacher following ERA as a change agent to facilitate his restructuring of the school. She was a member of the senior management team and, like her colleagues, was a full-time class teacher. These subject managers were, of course, heavily involved in implementing all of the measures of the ERA, measures which in terms of policy had been the subject of constant changes since 1988. As subject manager for mathematics, she was responsible for developing the subject throughout the school, and this involved leading a large programme of school-based INSET. Additionally, she was responsible for the teacher appraisal scheme and the ordering, purchase and allocation of resources for all subjects. She was highly thought of by all of the other teachers I had conversations with, and when asked to recall concrete incidents when a subject co-ordinator had helped them with professional development, they mentioned her name. While her teaching commitment, managerial responsibilities and her membership of the senior management team led me to identify her as a subject manager, her perspective on herself, her work and the social relations of the school, as shown through an analysis of conversations showed ambivalence towards the new role. She might be considered, therefore, as a partial, or even reluctant, teacher/manager, for, whilst being seen as successful in the new managerial role, she felt uncomfortable with many aspects of her new expanded and intensified work. She also would reflect critically on the impact of managerialism on her and the school. There was, therefore, evidence of role conflict in her perspective. She was not completely 'caught' (Ball, 1994) by the new managerialism and still felt drawn to her former role as a creative and relatively autonomous generalist class teacher (Woods, 1995a). Her feelings about the subject manager role were, therefore, suggestive of an 'ambivalent enhancement'. Her

positive feelings related to greater expertise and ownership and control. These appeared to meet her personal needs. Negative feelings were associated with the intensification of work and reduced ownership and control. I shall examine each of these in turn.

Positive Feelings

Greater Expertise

Elizabeth appeared to enjoy her role when helping other teachers by giving advice informally. She had produced a voluminous resource pack (the black file) for each teacher to draw on in their teaching. In the INSET sessions she led she demonstrated her expertise in enthusiastically communicating her views and methods of teaching mathematics through investigations. She felt this method of teaching although requiring more skills should be adopted throughout the school. However, many of the teachers resisted this approach and continued using published Maths schemes. Elizabeth's involvement in planning was not restricted to topic and lesson planning. As a member of the senior management team she was closely involved with school development planning and the formulation of school policy. Indeed one of her first managerial tasks at the school, following ERA was to formulate a Maths policy. In previous posts, she 'really hadn't been aware of school policy', and certainly hadn't written one, but at this school she showed a measure of pride in having done it:

I think the first thing I did when I came here was write the school's Maths policy. There were no guidelines, real sort of clear guidelines. So I went on an Open University Maths diploma course which was a great help. I worked with a couple of other people to get some ideas together but its one of those things it was best working on your own though it was supposed to be involving everybody and everyone's ideas to make the whole thing work. It really wasn't feasible because there was no time to do it in school. It had to

be done at home. So, it's pretty much my document and now, of course, that's totally out of date.

While feeling proud of using new knowledge and skills in Maths teaching in order to write policy, Elizabeth seemed to recognise here that the new managerialism should be accomplished collaboratively, rather than individually. Elizabeth was almost apologetic in her admission that this managerial task was accomplished alone, even though intensification of work had forced the situation and, in some tasks, solitary working may be superior to collegial effort (A. Hargreaves, 1994a).

Ownership and Control

Elizabeth obviously enjoyed some of her work as a manager and seemed to possess some 'natural' management skills:

It's nice to have a say in what goes on in school, and I think I've been here long enough to know how things happen, how people tick and what's accepted and what's not, and how to get around people, or talk to people or whatever. I just like to be in the know as well.

She recognised that management roles, while providing opportunities for being in control, can contribute to further intensification of work:

...enjoyable, I suppose you could use that word. If I wasn't doing it, like if I wasn't doing Maths in that co-ordinator's role, I'd be very irritated by perhaps what another co-ordinator would do, and that sort of feeling. I'd feel that I wanted to be in charge of it even though, sometimes the workload is heavy. But, I think sometimes I could do without bits of the management role.

As a teacher governor, she was unsure about potential managerial domination by the lay governors, but did see that there could be benefits:

Governors have got better management skills than we have. They're more aware of budgeting than we are. Perhaps we can palm off some of these jobs onto them and let us control what happens in school and the education side of it.

Elizabeth gained from working in a collaborative culture. She not only gave advice but also received it:

I think the collaboration here is very good. I feel I can go and talk to most people in a very casual way and get ideas. They're very forthcoming.

Negative Feelings

Intensification of Work

She clearly recognised the recent intensification of her work and gave several indications of pressure, tension and stress, in phrases such as:

heavy workload...being asked to do too much...extra jobs...no finish/no end to it....pressure on you...all the time spent trying to do your best....now its two topics a term and its a nightmare...God I haven't done this and I haven't done that and I've got to do that...being asked to do too much...getting in the way of my private life...feeling dizzy/shell-shocked at the end of the day...we seem to spend most of our time going round in circles...I didn't do half as much work out of school as I do now...making me rush things...its taking longer and longer at home to do the stuff, like I say its lucky that my husband is a teacher....children aren't being taught what's in the plans in some cases because there isn't time to do it...I don't think I'm teaching as

well as I used to simply because I'm being asked to do too much...it doesn't make for a very smooth, calm person...you're fighting against it all the time...pressure on you to get things up and running.

Although experiencing intensification of work arising from largely managerial tasks, she still put the children in her class first:

It's (managerial work) getting in the way of my private life. I think I end up feeling dizzy at the end of the day because so many other things have happened, like some stock will arrive, or somebody'll want to see somebody about something or the Head will want to see you about something, or you're meeting with somebody else, and at the end of the day I feel quite sort of shell-shocked sometimes. But it really doesn't get in the way of what's happening in the class because that's got to come first or else the school falls apart, because you can't cope in the classroom then. I think everybody has days when they're going sort of off the cuff and that can happen any time. You can have a late night, friends call round, but the majority of my time outside school, the extra time, it's taken up, I don't call the extra time for the kids, that's always going to be there, more times taken up with sort of management co-ordinating stuff.

In his study of a primary school, Hayes (1994) found some teachers who were reluctant to engage in collaborative whole-school decision-making, and assume further managerial responsibilities. This was for the very practical reason that participation would demand extra time commitments which, the teachers perceived, would result in their having reduced time for planning and teaching their classes. The teachers were class focused rather than whole-school focused. And, therefore, were 'restricted' rather than 'extended professionals' (Hoyle, 1974). While this was true of some of the teachers at Meadowfields, Elizabeth seems to have partly resolved the tension between managerial and teacher roles by displacing some of the extra management tasks into her personal life thereby further increasing

intensification. She blamed herself for not 'being as quick as others' to complete tasks and often takes work home. She felt fortunate that her teacher husband understood the pressures and did not complain. Some of her female colleagues completed their work at school by staying behind for several hours so that they could avoid feelings of guilt induced by complaints, from non-teaching partners, about bringing work home, .

Elizabeth felt under pressure to fill in many planning sheets:

It's just an extra job. Because Art is part of our topic work, we have to list Light (a Science subject) as part of our topic. So we record it on our Art sheet, Science sheet and Humanities sheet. Now, Art's connected to music, so you're writing things out four or five times.

However, as part of management, she participated in making the decision to have multiple planning sheets. Indeed she required the teachers to submit their Maths planning to her and thereby contributed to the intensification of their work:

I'm putting pressure on people. I'm just thinking well they're not actually doing much extra work they're just putting it all on one side of paper and it's building up a scheme of work. But it's asking somebody to do something else

She notes, too, the artificiality of the system which separates managerial planning from teaching:

You're duplicating planning, and sometimes it has little to do with what you're doing in the classroom, and sometimes it's not needed for what you're doing in the classroom.

Reduced Ownership and Control

Elizabeth previously worked in a private international school in France which was organised on democratic principles. She now seemed aware that owing to the veneer of democracy and the extent of micro-political activity, Meadowfields had fallen short of genuine and equal participation:

Before I came here I was at an *avant-garde* school. It was brilliant. They didn't have a head they had a chairperson, who was voted in for two years. Anybody could have been chairperson and everybody had a say in how the school was run. It took a long time to get anything done but at least you felt you were working for the school not an authority - it was independent. It was a small school. It wouldn't work on a big scale. There was only about 180 kids. No decisions were made at a meeting until you had time to go away and think about it. You weren't bamboozled into saying 'yes' or 'no' straight way. You could come back to the next meeting and vote on it.

If Elizabeth was losing some control in decision-making, this was also occurring in school policy formulation:

The county is saying that two sides of A4 is all you need for your policy documents. but it can't be very clear if it's just two sides. What I wrote wasn't just my ideas it included a lot of some very clever peoples' thinking in Maths and how it should be taught. I thought that was very valuable - but two sides, that's meaningless. But that's what we're supposed to be doing so that's what we are doing.

Elizabeth's teaching philosophy seems at odds with 'technicist' versions, yet she recognises that in her teaching now she must on occasions depart from her child-centred approach in order to engage in managerial tasks, such as planning and recording and reaching targets,

which have been specified by others. She lost some ownership of pedagogy, and bureaucracy eclipsed teaching and eroded personal relationships:

You could do a topic for a whole term and all the kids do lots of investigative work, and lots of testing out their theories, lots of making stuff to see if it works and really delving quite deeply into a subject, but not just the facts of a subject but to understand how things worked. And that was fine spending a term on a topic. Now it's two a term and it's a nightmare. We've got to do sound and light in seven weeks. You can't do a lot of getting to know what sound is all about and then do any really valuable investigations in that time. You've got to be feeding them information, in a way, to a certain extent you've got to give information. Some kids know because they catch on more quickly and they're making connections, but those little mites at the bottom - you're just shoving stuff at them I feel sometimes.

The main focus was the children and now it seems to have shifted from that a lot on to how you record what you're teaching and how you record what the children are doing and how you plan so far ahead for everything, that you almost forget the kids that are involved in it.

In writing a recent school policy, to accommodate the recent national policy changes, she felt deskilled and frustrated. She expected external 'experts' to eventually reveal the 'perfect' policy:

We've had no training for this, that's why it's so frustrating not knowing you're doing the right thing. I've spent years and years trying to do it (formulate policy)...there's nothing clear from the Maths team (LEA Maths advisors and advisory teachers)...they just give out ideas and you have to work it out yourselves. That's a bit more work. If we're going to have to do it like that why don't they just give us the sheet and say, 'There you are'.

Here the dependency on external 'experts' potentially undermined professional judgement and reduced control.

Elizabeth is also losing control of how she carries out her work as subject manager. Since the inspection, she was expected to undertake classroom observation of colleagues for monitoring and appraisal. HMI had included this strong expectation in their report and the Headteacher had been instructed to include it in the job descriptions of senior management and to give co-ordinators the authority to carry it out. The 'floating' Deputy Headteacher form of organisation made a small amount of non-contact time available for this task:

What's meant to happen now is that I'm able to go into different areas to work with people - it's a much more organised set up. It's actually working in classrooms with people. I worked with their planning but I haven't worked in classrooms with anybody yet and that's part of the brief since the inspection. I don't know how that's going to work - it's going to be a bit delicate I think because I don't want to tread on anyone's toes.

The new managerial role here stands in contrast to older versions of professionalism in which classroom autonomy was central. Elizabeth respected the autonomy of colleagues and gave it priority over monitoring and advisory work. Thus, as in Campbell's (1988) study, 'paradoxically, from the point of view of curriculum development, the concept of the class teacher's 'autonomy' in curricular matters was to some extent shared by the (co-ordinators) themselves, despite the fact that the consequence of their curriculum development activities was to bring such a concept into question' (p.227). Elizabeth hesitated to enter into classrooms in her advisory role to work alongside colleagues because this might involve her in making evaluations of her colleagues' teaching:

It's just the way you approach people isn't it. You work with them rather than showing them this is the way to do it. That's not what you do. You can't go in and say that to a teacher who has been teaching for a number of

years and imply that they're not doing it the right way. I must say I haven't solved that problem yet. I haven't actually gone into a classroom yet.

Holding these reservations, yet having to monitor the work of colleagues in her managerial role, she relied on unobtrusive means of evaluation:

You get their plans and it all seems fine but it's not being done that way, and that came out in the (inspectors) report as well, that what is happening in the policy is not happening in the classroom. Not in one but in all classrooms. And then just by - it's almost like being a spy - but it's an accidental spy, - so you see things on blackboards or see peoples' worksheets and just think, 'Oh my God that's happening'. And how do you stop it happening?

She was also uncertain how to proceed on the strength of evidence from colleagues' planning:

I think they know they have got some gaps in their planning and I can go and talk to them about it. But I don't want to go and tread on their toes. It's got to be done very carefully and I haven't put my mind to that yet.

Elizabeth's previous experience of being observed herself by a colleague warned her of the potential falseness of classroom observation:

I hate people watching the way I teach. You really feel you're being seen with a critical eye and that's got to be avoided really. I remember Frances came and she asked if she could come in and listen to the language that was used. Not just mine, but I think the language in the class. So I said, 'That's alright'. But when she was there I didn't speak the way I do normally at all. It was all totally false, and I thought, 'well Christ if she thinks that's what it's like all the time?'.

Elizabeth can provide a rationalisation for the gap between policy and practice in the school and can sympathise with her colleagues who cut corners because of the intensification of work, their educational values, or their lack of subject confidence and expertise:

In some cases, children aren't being taught what's on the plans, in some cases because there isn't time to do it, and in other cases because people don't believe that what's on the plans is what the children should be taught. It's over a year now since we had an INSET on this aspect of Maths and this sort of thing shouldn't be happening at all. But people forget, and if it's not your subject and you don't feel too confident you fall back on old methods and the things that you did at school. I do that as well.

There was also recognition that the production of documentation which accompanied bureaucracies and managerialist cultures had ascendancy, in this school, over issues central to teaching and learning:

...as long as you've got your planning in place, and its all nicely written up, what you get through to the kids is secondary. Partly because you've hardly got time to think about them, you're thinking so much about the planning.

Professionalism or Managerialism?

Elizabeth was not an incompetent teacher or subject manager. Indeed, quite the reverse. Through her professionalism she was managing to resolve the tensions in her role. However, there was evidence that she was experiencing stress in the process as her role was increasingly open to appraisal by the Headteacher and inspectors. She had managed to monitor colleagues' work by indirect means, now the direct monitoring through classroom observation which she had avoided was becoming mandatory.

What, then, can this analysis of Elizabeth's perspective on her role add to our knowledge of the changing nature of primary teachers' work and the professionalisation v deprofessionalisation debate? Certainly the analysis broadly supports Campbell's (1988) findings on role conflict in the co-ordinator's work. It also confirms Pollard et al. (1994) and Woods et al. (1997) on teachers' feelings towards their new role. What, I feel, the in-depth analysis of a single case adds is an insight into the complexity of the changes which are taking place. Pollard et al. (op cit.) present the teachers in their large sample as being for or against the National Curriculum. When reporting teacher responses to changes in their role, the authors found that a majority of teachers report feeling deprofessionalised because of their experience of managerial aspects of the role. These included administration, increased planning, loss of spontaneity and child responsiveness in their teaching, increased stress and anxiety, a strong sense of imposition of external priorities and a feeling of loss of autonomy and creativity. The authors also show that the most common form of teacher accommodation to the changes, 'incorporation', involved the teachers in implementing the reforms but not sacrificing values and practices that were really important to them. Furthermore, a minority of teachers drew on an 'emergent professionalism' and felt that this had been enhanced by restructuring. These findings present a view of teacher response in which some feel empowered or affirmed while some feel deskilled or deprofessionalised. Their data also suggests that some teachers, the 'incorporators', may feel a range of these. What the case-study of Elizabeth shows is this complexity of response which is the source

of the role conflict and resultant stress which there were indications Elizabeth might be experiencing. How then can this complexity be explained?

One approach would be to see Elizabeth as being reprofessionalised as an education manager. Harris, (1995) in a study of women, in the public and private sectors, who had recently been promoted to management, noted contradictions in their accounts of the process of becoming a manager. She explained these as revealing conflicts or tensions in the work roles they occupied, or the complexity of perspective reflected the circumstances of uncertainty or confusion in which the new managers worked. This situation produced a sense of disorientation, bafflement or puzzlement as they attempted to adapt to their changing roles (Harrison et al. 1992). She also suggests that her interview material indicates a sense of transition in the subject's personal biography which has to take account of discontinuities while retaining a sense of continuity of self.

Woods (1995a) writes of a 'liminal' stage, a kind of betwixt and between in which teachers mourn the loss (Nias, 1991b) of some aspects of the old as they struggle to adapt to the new. For Woods, contradictions in teacher accounts can, partly, be considered as an expression of the teachers' experience of 'liminality'. In conditions of rapid cultural change the production of professional subjectivities is a shifting scene (Mac an Ghaill, 1996b). Professionalism must, therefore be considered as a dynamic concept.

The production of identity is both a personal and a social process (Berger, 1966; Woods, 1983). Selves are constructed through interaction with others. In primary teaching, professional and personal identity intermingle, each feeding into the other. It might be expected, therefore, that the restructuring of work and of personal relations, that this entails, through the formation of changed organisations and occupational cultures will have implications for teachers' professional identities. In the new workplace the new managerial forms sit, sometimes uncomfortably, on top of old work practices and ideologies (Menter et al. 1997). Although Elizabeth saw opportunities in her new role, and was 'humanistic rather than managerialist in approach', the new work was a source of tensions (Woods et al.

1997, p.91). However, this brand of 'critical humanistic managerialism could be seen as a positive base on which to develop managerial practices in primary schools' (ibid.).

While the new work was a source of tension for Elizabeth, the challenges and opportunities raised in restructured schooling were negotiated, more successfully, by James, the Headteacher. For him, the changed work led to his experiencing 'extensification' rather than intensification (Woods, et al. 1997).

Part 3: 'Extensification': Managing the New Primary Headteacher Role

Old and New Primary Headship

Headteachers are important and powerful people (Coulson, 1978; Alexander, 1984 and 1992). In the period prior to the ERA, Alexander (1984) has described the 'formidable concentration of power' in the headteacher's role and the hierarchical, and often patriarchal, organisation and social relationships of the primary school (p.161). Heads at this time would be solely responsible for administration and educational leadership. Their values would be the single most important influence on institutional bias or school ethos (Pollard, 1985). Southworth (1993), in an ethnographic study of one male headteacher, discovered domination of 'his' staff to be the main strategy adopted by the headteacher in order to control curriculum and pedagogy. The styles of leadership which were adopted in this period would be likely to conform with Alexander's (1992, p.114) typologies of 'head as 'boss', 'chief teacher' or 'managing director'. Grace (1995) writes of heads at this time who were moral and educational leaders and responsibility for the curriculum was a paramount aspect of the role. In this phase, Nias et al. (1989) saw strong leadership as being a necessary condition for forming a collaborative school culture. In the early 1980's however there were signs that 'autocratic styles of management were on the retreat' (Grace, 1995, p.38), as some primary heads adopted the management style of team leader (Alexander, 1992) on the introduction into schools of new management cultures based on Human Resource Management principles (Menter et al. 1995a).

In the period following the ERA, the power of headteachers remained undiminished. Indeed, headteachers have been awarded additional powers to manage major changes in their schools. A significant measure in this respect was the introduction of LMS which gave headteachers budgetary control. The restructuring of the education system, as in other areas of the public sector, as we saw in chapter 1, saw a large investment of government faith in managers and management systems and discourses to introduce the reforms. Not only were heads expected to act as change agents in their schools, they were also expected to change themselves in order to do this. Thus, they were simultaneously the subject and the object of the reforms (Ball, 1994). In the era of new public sector management, 'it is principals who are at the sharp end of change' (Lauder, 1996, p.99). Management training has increasingly been seen as a priority in times of rapid change, and new initiatives, for example the National Professional Qualification for Headteachers, have recently been announced to train deputy and headteachers in management skills.

New primary headship, in a managerialist era, goes considerably beyond moral and educational leadership. Marketisation of schooling has created new roles and responsibilities in headship. The new managerial areas of budgetary planning and administration, financial and personnel management, staff development and marketing are important in the entrepreneurial school. Increased emphasis on 'heavy duty accountability' (Woods and Jeffrey, 1996b, p.45) has involved heads in managing staff appraisal systems and systems of self-management which include self-monitoring as part of the school development planning and inspection process. A combination of market and accountability pressures has fundamentally redefined the relationship between parents and schools. In this changed context, where parents have considerably more power, new headteacher management strategies have had to be developed. It has been necessary for heads to adopt the role of cultural leader. As argued in chapter 3, introducing the reforms has meant changing the individualistic nature of primary school culture, where teachers worked in isolation, into a collaborative culture, usually with flattened management structures (senior management teams), in order to implement multiple innovations quickly and flexibly.

Role Diversity in New Headship

Heads, who are still, of course, charged with curriculum leadership in addition to their business manager role, have come to experience an inherent tension between these two important aspects of their new role. Some researchers argue that the headteacher's increasing involvement in managerial tasks and managerialist discourses has caused a separation of managers from teachers, with managers being responsible for planning and administration and teachers for implementation (Hellowell, 1990; Bowe et al. 1992; Ball, 1994). This situation, quite apart from causing some heads to experience stress and some teachers alienation, creates the classic conditions for the proletarianisation of educated labour (Larson, 1980). Pollard et al. (1994) note that primary heads have, since ERA, shifted from advocacy of principles and practices of shared decision-making involving 'managed' participation and collegiality to imposing 'top down' styles of leadership in order for heads to cope quickly with the many reforms.

The role of the primary headteacher is more complex than bi-modal analyses suggest (Boyle and Woods, 1996). Acker (1990b, p. 247) for instance, shows how a headteacher, in order to 'manage the drama' of primary school life must necessarily adopt a fragmented role to deal with the complexity and chaos of the institution and its social processes. So diverse and demanding were the tasks of Acker's headteacher that she was 'pulled one way then another between them' (ibid. p.250). There are indications that the complexity of the headteacher's role is increasing since ERA. Blease and Lever (1992) for example 'stressed the intensity of the role, the lack of time for adequate reflection about issues, the multiplicity of their function and the large number of low level tasks which occupied their days' (in Hayes, 1993, p. 2). Dunning (1993) describes the headteacher's role as 'multifarious' and,

involving the constituent elements of leadership of professional development and curriculum: management of organisational structures, resources, public relations and finance; as well as the disparate responsibilities of being a general administrator, planner, initiator, evaluator, assessor, appraiser, team

builder, problem solver, decision maker and pastoral figurehead; and even this list is not exhaustive.

(p.81)

Webb and Vulliamy (1996) stress the diverse nature of the headteacher's role. Elements of it include: tasks involved with LMS and administration, disturbance handling, working with parents and the community, social work, working with governors, supporting staff, curriculum leadership and monitoring. Boyle and Woods (1996) describe one adaptation to these diverse tasks, responsibilities and circumstances as producing 'a composite form of leadership'. For these headteachers, managing the new headship (Ball, 1994) involved 'a recognition of diversity' (Webb and Vulliamy, 1996, p.138) since their role had become 'so diverse, expansive and responsive that although heads work to long term goals there is a sense that 'getting on top of it all' in the short term was impossible' (ibid. p.138).

The impact of the new roles on headteachers has been as diverse as the roles themselves. Pollard et al. (1994) anticipated that headteachers' responses to the changes would lie along a continuum ranging from compliance through mediation to resistance. All the responses, however, clustered around compliance and mediation with no modes of resistance being apparent. Grace (1995) notes a limited form of headteacher resistance where heads are openly critical of government policy. Woods found one headteacher who was clearly unable to deal with the change of role and the transformation of identity that it entailed. This headteacher described the impact of role diversity involved in 'new' headship:

The type of thing I was having to do in terms of administration was taking me away from some of the ideals that I got into the job for. I felt that the kind of person they were looking for was somebody completely different. I was not the kind of headteacher that they needed or wanted.

(Woods, 1995a, p.177)

While finding some heads not coping, Webb and Vulliamy (1996), also describe headteachers who were either 'celebrating' (in Grace's 1995 terms) the introduction of the post-ERA model or 'welcomed it because it drew upon their particular interests, strengths or latent skills, providing, especially for those who had been in post for some time, a new phase to their career (pp. 140-141). Certain heads were found who 'relished the transformation of the headteacher role from leading professional to that of chief executive' (p.141).

I intend to explore the changing nature of James' work and how he was adapting to the new role. Major aspects of his role and strategies for managing it are described and analysed. The discussion is organised around five major aspects of role: visionary; business manager; educational leader; monitor; cultural manager; and resister. I discuss each in turn, after providing some further information on James as a headteacher.

Meadowfields school was James' first headship. He had taught in primary schools since 1968 and had wide experience of primary education as a class teacher and Deputy Headteacher before being appointed Headteacher. He is considered by a variety of evaluators, including pupils, parents, governors, fellow teachers and school inspectors as a 'good' headteacher. He was considered by local advisors as at the forefront of implementing changes. Additionally, James had a reputation for inviting visitors, including researchers and other interested professionals, to the school, in order to observe 'good' contemporary primary practice. Headship was a role he took very seriously and derived much satisfaction from. He clearly enjoyed his work in the new managerialist era and felt quite comfortable with the diverse new role. I consider him to be an exemplar of new headship.

Visionary

Peters and Waterman (1982), American management gurus, talk of the successful manager as a 'values shaper'. Pollard (1985), Nias et al (1989) and Acker (1990b) point to the key role headteachers play in shaping the values of the school and creating its ethos. As stated

earlier, the headteacher has considerable power to create school 'ethos' or 'institutional bias' (Pollard, 1985). However, as we have seen in previous chapters this current study, the teachers also had some power to 'influence the headteacher or subvert his intentions' (Woods, et al. 1997, p.126). The resulting 'institutional bias' was, therefore, a 'negotiated order' (Pollard, 1985). Primary school headteachers, then, are highly influential in shaping the character of their schools. In the everyday life of primary schooling, the 'headteacher stands at the centre presenting and promoting the school 'way' (Woods et al. 1997, p.126; Pollard, 1985; Nias et al. 1989; Acker, 1990b). This is done by the headteacher, explicitly and implicitly communicating and promoting their personal and professional values, and the vision they have for the school. Explicit statements of vision and values are to be found in official documents for the school which have been produced by the headteacher (Nias et al. 1992). For instance, James' vision statement for the school development plan seemed to accurately encapsulate his vision. It stated that the school strove to develop,

the maintenance of close links with our parents, to strengthen our shared responsibility for our children's education in a caring, cheerful and industrious atmosphere.

(School Development Plan Vision Statement 1993-94)

Often when James was addressing the staff in meetings and on INSET days he would use the phrase 'the Meadowfields' way'. He explained:

We do care as colleagues for the children and each other in a professional way, and I think that my belief that we have a shared responsibility in bringing up the children means that we expect parents to be involved in what we're doing in the school, and therefore that their involvement and the intensity of that involvement means that we're opening ourselves. I'm not the kind of person that can pretend things are happy. I'd rather say it and thrash it out. I think things should be discussed, and when decisions are

made sometimes it's not to everybody's liking but we vote for it as a group, we all accept that the majority rules. So if the Meadowfields' way is being that, being me in some ways, I hope I'm working at it, and I hope the school is one where we do work with people and we do our best for people. It's about working together, not just in here as teaching but outside as well. That's my way, and if it means it's welcoming and it's open and it's honest, then I hope that is the Meadowfields' way.

Evident here are themes of collaboration, working together, informal relationships, caring, community/parental involvement, openness and a concern for a wider professional community. Like Nias et al's (1989) heads of collaborative whole school cultures, James articulated a belief in the value of the individual and in the primacy of human relationships in education. The school was an expression of James' self - 'the Meadowfields' way is being me in some ways' (cf Southworth, 1993). James 'actively sought to promote these explicitly shared beliefs in the work of colleagues' (Nias et al. 1989, p.28). Indeed, one aspect of his vision was the belief that values be shared by the staff group, and in this he appears to have been successful. Caroline, commenting on 'the Meadowfields' way', said,

I think it's all those things you can't put your finger on. It is the informal staff, the way you can share and you can admit weaknesses and not get a lot of criticism for it. But you will get constructive criticism. There is a sort of working together, we are all on the same side. We are all working for the good of the children. It is about creating a happy sort of relaxed atmosphere, where the work is going on, but it is done, hopefully in a relaxed fun way. It is a welcoming place. I suppose you get so used to so many people coming in that you do sort of look up and say, 'Hi, come on in'. If you do fit in as a Meadowfields' person it is having a sense of humour.

(Caroline, Reception/ Year One, Newly Qualified Teacher)

As I see it it's being very honest and friendly. Being able to say, 'I don't agree with her' or 'I really don't understand', and not feel threatened. So there are instances where people have felt threatened, but they're very few and far between. And it's also being able to say to senior members of staff, 'I'm not really happy about this', and 'I don't feel I can necessarily approach the head. Do you think you could have a word?'. And so I think, within our staff, there's always somebody that can go and talk to somebody who will give them support and I think that's the Meadowfields' way. I believe that the way we talk to the children, and the way we treat the children, again is quite calm, and I think that's happening. That is very definitely the Meadowfields' way. Having lots of contact with parents and not being frightened to have contact with him (the Headteacher). He's one of us.

(Sarah, English and SEN Co-ordinator, Year Four Teacher, Senior Manager)

I would guess it just meant that we have our own way. We're independent, individual, and we have our way of doing it which may not necessarily be the same as others (other schools), but to stand up for it and stand by it. And the head is just so committed to getting the parents involved. So I would guess it's putting the children first, and getting the parents involved so that it really is a whole school - everybody.

(Christine, P.E. Co-ordinator, Year Three Teacher)

For the staff James' vision was the corner stone upon which their vision of a 'whole school' was founded' (Nias et al. 1992, p.28).

Other features of the school revealed the vision in action. The school was open to the community, parents, researchers, teachers from other schools and international visitors. On

one occasion a senior manager had objected to the impending visit of twenty American students because the Year Six children would be involved in taking their SATs, and she thought the visit would be disruptive to their progress. James dismissed this objection saying that testing was a feature of English education in the 1990s, and that overseas visitors should be made aware of this fact. James promoted his vision both inside and outside the school. He felt that schools were now constantly in the 'public eye' and stressed the importance of the school projecting a favourable image. He was afraid of parents going to the local press following incidents at the school. He was aware of bad press coverage of schools, and used cuttings as a focus for staff meetings (see chapter 4). This was not a focus of critical discussion but simply to say, 'This is what people think about schools and we have to take it seriously'. He would invite the press into the school to report on innovations, such as Home/School links, parents and others helping in classrooms, and nativity plays.

Further practical expression of the vision was seen in his celebration of aspects of the ERA which supported it. This was particularly so with parental involvement in the school. The increased and legislated emphasis given to this strand of the reforms had strengthened initiatives which he had been trying to introduce prior to ERA. Initiatives to include parents as partners in the education of their children, had brought many dilemmas for James and the teachers, yet parental involvement was a central element of the vision:

If parents have a better understanding of what we're trying to do, then we've got greater support. We get them to our surgeries and we show them all our year plans and things. So there's a huge involvement there.

He involved himself in a great deal of work outside the school. He was prominent in the county's primary headteachers' group, and represented them in the media on topical issues such as an OFSTED report on the length of the school week. He would give talks to the headteacher's group and at headteacher's conferences about management/leadership issues, for example, on how to handle school inspections.

That James' vision was to be seen in practice was evident in the inspector's report when they noted that,

The pastoral leadership of the head is strong. The spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of the pupils is sound. Pupils' behaviour is extremely good. Relationships within the school, with parents and the wider community are excellent. The school benefits greatly from the parents' support.

(Inspection Report, February 1993)

Business Manager

In the managerialist era schools are urged to become more like businesses. This means headteachers must, in order to survive, become more like business managers and be responsible for, not only educational leadership, but also business management. James recognised the expanded role he was being asked to adopt by using the analogy of a bus driver:

Somebody says to you, 'Can you drive this bus?' and you say, 'Yes, I've passed my test' so he says, 'Right, OK, you're the bus driver, I'll sit and you can drive the bus and that's it'. If somebody then said to you, 'Right, you're driving the bus, taking the fares and bringing it into the depot and putting it in the garage at night', you'd say, 'Hang on a minute, how many jobs have I got here?'. That's what is happening through the changes and the opportunities they have given. They have made us an accountant and it's made us a social services worker. It's given the opportunity to change from outside agencies and advisors running courses to you doing it. It's given you so many huge things to do that I think that this job has changed from the

expectations of what a headteacher is about to something absolutely and totally different. I think I feel comfortable about coping with most of it.

He accepted the new responsibilities and pressures and seemed comfortable with them. He acknowledged, though, that other headteachers have been unable to accommodate to the entrepreneurial role and accompanying intensification of work:

I do feel that in some ways what's been expected has been unfair for certain headteachers who are put in a very difficult position really. I mean it's been fairly obvious that a lot of heads have jacked it in because it's not what they came into headship for.

I do know heads who don't enjoy it. They see their function very much as the key teacher in the classroom. Teaching because they are good effective teachers in the classroom. And there are those who are struggling because they are not used to the change in culture, and have been asked to do something that they weren't trained for.

Being a manager had become part of his professional *and* personal identity. He played golf and attended dinner parties with friends who were executives at a nearby car manufacturing plant. These friends were a positive reference group external to the school (Nias, 1989). They helped him reflect on his position handling the school budget. They told him that, in the private sector, managers would know budget details well in advance of financial planning and not have the kind of vague information which he had in LMS, as a basis for budgeting and development planning. It is perhaps significant that before taking up teaching he was a trainee accountant in the steel industry. He also did vacation work as a manager in a national chain grocery store.

When introducing a researcher to the staff he said, 'Alan is coming into school to shadow me for a couple of weeks to study effective management - just like Marks and Spencer'.

James was proud when the HMI leading the school inspection praised him for the efficient way he had assembled a wealth of pre-inspection documentation. She asked, 'Have you been on a management course?'

The LEA regarded him as being at the 'leading edge' of new headship/managerialism, and he spent a year on secondment acting as a 'troubleshooter' to help headteachers in the authority implement new management structures following the introduction of ERA and LMS. He considered that training for management should be high on the agenda for deputies and heads of primary schools. He had recommended courses run by the Industrial Society:

I'd just been talking about this at a conference the other week. I was just looking at this (holds up a brochure) and thinking, 'Yes, 'Effective Training for You and Your Staff' this is by the Industrial Society. 'Many of the courses can be tailored precisely to your requirements, whatever form suits your school'. I mean there was 'Pre-OFSTED Training for Primary Schools' of course, 'Total Quality in Primary Schools', which I found quite interesting. But 'Effective Leadership in Education' that's the ultimate leadership development experience. And you're looking at your senior managers, deputy heads and so on, going on these courses. So I mean that's a five day residential course which was £800, I think. But they are looking at giving you effective ideas. And when I look through it it's all about handling budgets, handling man (sic) management, marketing, giving opportunities for senior staff to develop. It's all personal development, staff development. It's all those kinds of things you're expected to be able to do now. I was never trained to do that in teacher training, but I've done a management course in the past.

He drew upon his previous management experience in commercial contexts when talking to the staff about the importance of their managing resources prudently. He hoped to treat his

staff as 'professionals', and did not consider he operated a 'top down model' in management, but,

when things get tight and people get panicky about it - it's important to turn lights out and turn the heating down during the day when it's not needed. Photocopying is staggering - very expensive. If you could exercise good housekeeping. When I was working for Dunnants they used to have an annual bonus if profits were up. There was a sign next to the light switch in the loos saying, 'Shut the light off you're losing our bonus!'. It's coming here - it's burning someone's job if you think about it.

James saw himself as a new-style manager and this separated and distanced him from the other teachers:

This is a job that they have never done. I feel that's the difference between a teaching post and myself. I mean even Barry who has tasted it has never actually done it himself. He's never been the guy who said, 'Right, well, I'm actually sailing this boat myself no matter what the crew are like.

Educational Leader

Though expanding in the managerial role, James had not abandoned his role as educational leader (Hughes, 1973). He could still do their job, if his teachers couldn't do his. Being a good primary teacher was still very much part of his identity:

I've got some good teachers here, but I've never seen anybody yet who I couldn't throw my hat in the ring with. And give me a couple of weeks to throw off the dust and I'd be in on a regular basis. I could be as electric in my relationships with kids, my planning and my effective way of managing my displays, my reporting.

Although not timetabled, he would still teach in order to release teachers to conduct SATs or work collaboratively with colleagues. Since P.E. was his specialism, he usually took the opportunity for teaching large groups of children (for example two classes of Year Two children while their teachers carried out a reading test) in areas which were open to the gaze of the other staff in the school. This was usually the main hall or playground. The public nature of this teaching acted as an exemplar to the other teachers and maintained his credibility as a primary teacher. He was particularly keen to promote learning in out of school contexts such as residential visits to field centres. As well as encouraging the teachers to organise this type of experience, he also led a party of Year Six children each summer abroad.

James would use assemblies, not for curriculum development as Nias' (1993) heads had done, but, again, to maintain credibility and provide an exemplar for his staff in the areas of class control and staff-pupil relationships. These were issues high on teachers' agendas:

I often get the jibes 'You can't handle them, and it's a while since you taught them'. But I still teach P.E. and still do certain things at certain times. I've taken assembly or got a group of children together. People know I can control a group of children. In those terms that's important that I can walk in and the kids will respond to my reactions. If I say 'Thank you', then they're quiet, and if I say 'Come on, let's have a laugh', they'll laugh.

In a parents' evening, he was the protagonist in a dramatic performance to introduce a new pre-reading scheme to the parents. The infant department who adopted the scheme wanted to use the evening for curriculum development, in that children, teachers and parents would be involved in the launch of the scheme and learning something of its aims, structure and content. James led the presentation which involved five infant teachers, two classroom assistants and all of the reception and Year One children. The children were dressed as characters in the phonetic scheme, such as Annie Apple. James would humorously introduce each character, make its sound, and then join letters up to make words. He was the star of

the show, and his performance and pedagogy was witnessed by a hall packed full of parents.

James involved himself in planning with the teachers and led INSET sessions on aspects of curriculum development. In the early stages of the implementation of the National Curriculum he played a central role in interpreting policy and helping the teachers implement it. For instance, he helped two Year Six teachers negotiate their way through an unrealistic number of attainment targets which they were attempting to incorporate in their topic.

Monitor

One of the most constraining aspects of policy which impinges on new headship is the requirement that, in the interests of quality assurance, headteachers review and monitor the work of teachers, a part of the role emphasized by OFSTED (1994). He used formal and informal methods in his monitoring. He would tour the school, noting teachers' pedagogy and classroom management and,

would interfere a lot, because there were things going on I didn't like. I'd say, 'Can I see your plans first? Can I have your evaluation of that?' If I saw fifteen kids standing in line while an old dear (sic) sat at the desk at the front, and I could see Fred at the back saying, 'You go in front of me, you go in front of me....!', and he's spending the day there - I used to question that, because I'd rather see Fred doing some Art in class, or standing on his head in a corner, or contemplating his navel rather than just standing in a line pathetically doing nothing.

He kept his finger on the pulse of the school, trying to piece seasonal ups and downs into a larger picture of school development.

At the moment I think things are in a hell of a mess. But that's because the circumstances at present are uncertain, and it's leaving everybody a little bit up in the air. And I think people need to know what the planning is going to be, and how things are going to function. I need to know. And I think we could do a bit of spring cleaning here. Sort of a re-appraisal of things and we'll step on the ball for the new year again. It's just that terms get like that, and pressure builds up. As soon as the angel's feathers and wings appear I think, 'Oh God here we go again!'

He checks the pupils' work, in books and classroom displays:

I usually will see the books from the year groups, probably twice a term. Not on a formal basis. I tend to say, 'Can I have a look at a cross-section of the books, like Maths and the English ones?' I tend to look through the books a lot...I make it my business to see. I'd formally see the books during the year and if I felt that things weren't going right, I'd say...

Classroom visits provided opportunities to observe displays which revealed much about the quality of the children's work, the standard of display and also about pedagogy and curriculum coverage:

There will be evidence on the wall showing what's been done. So I'll be able to calculate whether they've (the teachers) been having an input into it. That's how I do it.

He took informal opportunities to observe teaching when it was occurring in an open area. For instance, the corridor to his office was separated from the main hall by a glass door and large window, and both were covered by a net curtain. At one staff meeting he was talking to the teachers about the disjuncture between their planning and the actual lesson. It was immediately obvious to the staff that in order for him to make this claim he must have

observed their P.E. lessons in the hall. One of the teachers sitting in front of the researcher at the meeting turned to her colleague sitting next to her and said, 'Oh, you've noticed the twitching curtain as well have you?' This hidden surveillance suggests that the 'Meadowfields' way' was **his** way, and that the 'working together' works under his auspices.

Formal systems exist for review and monitoring. The senior management team have teachers' lesson plans submitted to them and they note 'gaps' in curriculum coverage and notify James. Sometimes the subject co-ordinators note gaps when they teach classes other than their own:

I am aware of a lot of things that are going on through the management group meetings, that's where I get the information from. But quite often it will come out - somebody like the music co-ordinator will come to me and say, 'Look, the infants are doing terrific music, from the work I've been doing, but there's nothing going on in Year Five or Year Six, and I'm worried about it'. So I will then say to Year Five and Six, 'How much music have you done within your plans?'.

In two staff meetings I attended (see chapters 3 and 4) James told the teachers that he had discovered unsatisfactory planning in P.E., Music and Maths.

James and the senior management team were responsible for school development planning and much of it was concerned with monitoring and review (see chapter 4). As we saw in chapter 3, James created the role of the floating 'key' teacher for the Deputy Headteacher in order that he could get first hand information on teachers' adherence to school and national policy and spot disjuncture between policy and practice. Monitoring was such a significant aspect of the role of new headship that James now sometimes referred to himself as the 'inspector in residence'.

Cultural Manager

I have already discussed this extensively in chapter 3. Like many other headteachers, James felt pressured to stimulate collaborative working and decision-making with his staff.

However, owing to the constraints under which he worked, he was often required to adopt a 'top-down' management style and use his micro-political skills. When espousing democratic values he might have believed it was 'not a top-down model here'. Indeed, in some ways it was not. However, when top-down strategies were used they were 'subtly interwoven into the fabric of 'The Meadowfields' way' (Woods et al. 1997, p.150).

Resister

James felt resentment at many of the changes which had taken place, and said, 'resentment's come because we've been forced to accept certain things'.

Coercion from the government and lack of any opportunity for education professionals to participate in policy making, or be consulted about the process had left its mark:

There are laws and legal demands that we have to comply with. I think they haven't been thought through in a proper way. And then you have the demands of the National Curriculum which has been changed in the last five years, being changed all the time. And within the framework of what we were doing there was sheer waste. There must have been millions spent on it all. If they'd only sat down with heads and teachers and with people like chief education officers, and looked at it first of all. Perhaps spent some time and effort like that. And over a couple of years we would have come up with something much nearer the mark, and better probably than that they've taken so long to do, and forced people to do. Its like a bad start really.

However, much of James' work was devoted to ensuring that both he and the teachers complied with government policies regarding management, curriculum and assessment.

Indeed the salience of the monitoring role attests to this. However, unlike Pollard et al's (1994), and Grace's (1995) headteachers, he resisted central policy. He did this by resisting the system, resisting assessment and resisting the marketisation of schooling.

In chapter 4, I discussed his criticising officials such as local advisors and OFSTED inspectors. In articulating a 'discourse of criticism' (Grace,1995) openly to his staff he showed he knew how the system operated, his dislike of it and how he was not totally aligning himself with the system-wide changes.

It is perhaps significant that he resisted aspects of the assessment and testing arrangements. Assessment had proved to be the sticking point for teachers nationally and resulted in the 1993 boycott of national tests. James had exerted pressure on certain members of staff to participate in carrying out the SATs at Key Stage 1. The school also participated in the Key Stage 2 non-compulsory pilot tests. However, he claimed that 'you can only change things from within'. He wanted to know what the tests were like, and their impact on teachers and children before mounting an objection. On completion of the Year Six pilot tests he requested and was granted a visit from a senior officer of the School's Examination and Assessment Council (SEAC). This visit gave James and those teachers who had been involved in testing an opportunity to voice their criticisms. They were very critical of the experience:

Well, I made so much fuss about it, that some guy came round, I think he was second in command. He must have been very important because he'd got two officers with him. That's usually a sign of something. We sat here (headteacher's office), and we had three teachers in and we really gave it a going over. We were here for two hours, and we really laid into the actual content of the tests. He agreed that basically it (the test score) was a fairly meaningless bit of documentation.

In the first year that schools were required to give parents an annual report on their children's progress, which took a nationally standardised format and showed progress in terms of attainment levels in subjects, James refused to do it. His teachers had spent a great deal of time and effort in producing a comprehensive profile of each pupils' achievement. This was the basis for an ongoing record of achievement and a focus for formative assessment , involving dialogue with pupils and parents, and to document progress at the end of each school year. James' refusal to comply with the legal requirement to report in the way specified by the Department of Education and Science was expressed by:

I felt bitter about that, because I thought it was an unnecessary piece of work that the staff had to do, and they were already overloaded by other things.

He then spoke of the situation which had precipitated his resistance:

Within a week of all these things (the school's profile) being put in place we had a letter from the senior assistant education officer and from the DES saying that they wanted the parents to have reports, full reports, end of year reports and that was a legal requirement. If you didn't do it you were breaking the law. At the head's meeting the officers said, 'This is what you've got to do'. I said, "We're not doing it'. And the senior officer said, 'Well, you're breaking the law'. And I said, 'I don't think I am because we've already put in a phenomenal amount of money, time and effort into doing this and we shared it with the parents, it was all part of our reporting system'. But I was obviously breaking the law, and I had a letter from the chief (chief education officer) at the beginning of the next year saying that she noticed that her office hadn't received it (a document confirming the school had complied with the new reporting arrangements).

James resisted official moves to deregulate the local education market. Whereas official policies of open enrolment and LMS had placed the local schools in competition with each

other the local headteachers' group had reached an agreement whereby they would unofficially regulate the education market in the town. However, one member of the group, the headteacher of a neighbouring school to Meadowfields, set up a nursery unit without discussing this with James or the group. Since Meadowfields did not have a nursery, James considered that the action of this headteacher was unprofessional and would give her school an unfair competitive advantage. James resigned from the headteachers' group in protest and his resignation was recorded in the governors' meeting minutes.

'Extensification' in the New Headteacher Role

As stated earlier, James is considered to be a successful Headteacher and has accommodated positively to the many changes in his role. Comfortable accommodation was not a feature of the responses of the majority of Grace's (1995) primary heads. James invests himself in his new role with self-confidence in order to foster external relations, protect his staff, delegate, encourage collaboration and market his school with image management (Woods et al. 1997). He is a 'skilled micro-politician in handling his staff, and derives a great deal of self-kudos out of his new position as managing director' (ibid.p.166). Rather than intensification, James appeared to be experiencing 'extensification' in his new role. Woods et al. (1997, p.166), describe one female headteacher's experience of this state as follows:

The experience was one more of extensification, involving intensive work certainly, but endorsing, expanding and renewing the self in its effects, and enhancing her sense of professionalism. Intensification constrains and pulls the individual down. Extensification, by contrast, expands and uplifts. The concentration of work, the filling of time and space, even to the extent of take-up of leisure time, the additional paperwork - all was in the purpose of the school.

Although much that James did was clearly in the service of the school, there is evidence, in this case study, that he appeared at times to be driven by agendas set by others external to the

school (Woods, et al. 1997). This was evidenced in his managerial compliance with official imperatives (see chapters 3 and 4). However, he tended to be particularly motivated by those measures which articulated with his own values and conception of professionalism. In his approach to school leadership, with his demonstrable capacity to 'turn the school around', he can be considered as an exemplar of 'transformative' leadership (Blase and Anderson, 1995). However, there are dangers in adopting this leadership style. As Grace (1995) points out, headteachers acting as cultural managers may 'work with their teachers in a professional and collegial way to modify what they see to be educationally undesirable' (p. 113) features of the changes. Alternatively,

the headteacher as cultural manager might involve a significant transformation of professional values and of collegial relations with other teachers resulting in a more distanced, utilitarian and directive relationship. In other words, if headteachers become increasingly preoccupied with the technical mechanics for efficient delivery of the required cultural output, professional debate in the school about the legitimacy of the process may seem an irrelevance. From this perspective, the management of culture and of pedagogy will have taken its place alongside the management of staff, resources and buildings, as part of the responsibilities of the school's chief executive (formerly headteacher)

(ibid.)

From the evidence of this case study James seems to be heading in this latter direction, if not arrived.

Conclusion

Intensification, therefore, was a feature of the Meadowfields' teachers' professional and personal lives. Aspects of their work which contributed to intensification arose, in large part, from the administrative and managerial elements of their new roles. However, although there is evidence that the teachers' work has intensified in some respects, the data in many cases

do not sit comfortably with elements of the intensification thesis, as expressed in the propositions. Many aspects of the teachers' work were, contrary to what the thesis predicts, producing an enhanced professionalism. The thesis, therefore, is inadequate as a sole explanation of the teachers' responses to their changing work.

By describing the 'subjective experience of structural constraints' (Woods, 1996b, p.75) we have seen teachers not responding mechanically to government mandate but creatively structuring their responses. The teachers clearly attributed a range of their own meanings to intensification and, therefore, it had 'different implications for self and role' (Woods et al. 1997, p.168). So, although external and internal constraints were experienced by all, some viewed these more as challenges to be overcome, rather than sources of oppression. Thus, job satisfaction and feelings of empowerment, enhancement, self-worth and accomplishment were experienced by Elizabeth, as well as those of stress and inadequacy about certain areas of her work. James was thriving in a job which many other headteachers have found too intensified and have had to give up owing to ill health and burnout (Fisher, 1995). Quite to the contrary, James turned many of the new measures to his advantage thereby enhancing his sense of professionalism. Intensification, then, can be empowering as it is disempowering.

What, then would constitute an adequate explanation? I agree with A. Hargreaves (1993, p.92). that 'further studies in which other theories and perspectives in addition to those concerned with the nature of the labour process may need to be acknowledged as important for our understanding'. These other theories, on the basis of this case study, are likely to be ones that can more adequately embrace conceptions of both structure and agency. Frameworks having this kind of explanatory capacity are interpretative theories of the self and coping strategies.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provide a summary of the research, use the analysed data to examine intensification and policy trajectory theory, assess the limitations of the study, indicate future developments for research in this area, and discuss the policy implications arising. I deal with each in turn.

Summary

In the case study of Meadowfields, we have seen the struggles which have taken place in order to restructure the organisation, culture and teachers' work. The prime orientation of the research was to describe and analyse the impact of a range of restructuring policies on the work of teachers and on the organisation and control of that work. The official advocacy on restructuring teachers' work was developing throughout the 1980s. Furthermore, as I showed in my analysis of policy developments, the official re-ordering of primary teachers' work was continuing beyond 1988 and taking place in the policy context of measures contained within ERA. Restructuring was stimulated with the introduction of the National Curriculum and its assessment and testing arrangements, LMS, open enrolment, the changed governance of schools, and continuing strong policy recommendations concerning the nature of teachers' work, roles and responsibilities.

At Meadowfields, this involved the introduction of a new management culture, changed headteacher expectations of the teachers and their work, and new management strategies for controlling and organising teacher work. The changes occurred following the appointment of the new Headteacher in 1986, a time of rapid restructuring in the education system. The existing work culture prior to James' arrival had been characterised by individualism and subject teaching. Using a hierarchical, pyramidal management structure, the previous Headteacher played a strong role in the top-down management of the teachers' work and in the formation of the school's ethos. James' initial aim was to introduce generalist teaching and to break down the culture of individualism by initiating systems of whole-school

decision-making. The changes also intensified the teachers' work, for they now had to plan and evaluate their lessons. Extra work was required from the teachers, in that they had to attend staff meetings and INSET sessions after school and at week-ends. Collaboration with colleagues, LSAs and parents was also expected. Although the changes introduced a form of collaborative decision-making they were established by James' use of micro-political strategies. There was, therefore, a veneer of democracy which concealed James' strong cultural management. The systems he created, therefore, encouraged contrived collegiality rather than genuine collaboration.

The introduction of the new management culture and practices took place prior to the ERA, and appeared in many ways to be ground-clearing, before the radical reforms were set in place. Professionalism in the school was socially constructed and was defined by management and expressed in its expectations of the teachers, and the stipulation of tasks they would perform. However, the teachers did not wholly adopt management's dominant constructions of professionalism, and developed their own. This was evident in the discourses and actions which formed the basis of contestation and resistance. Being professional and having the requisite skills to survive professionally at the school prior to the arrival of the new Headteacher seemed to involve: conforming to the Headteacher's expectations of his teachers and the kind of work they are expected to do; accepting the authority of the Headteacher as having the major role in decision-making concerning school organisation and the curriculum; fulfilling the role of curriculum specialist, not as consultant or in a collaborative role but actually teaching a subject specialism to all classes in the unit and therefore being more subject-centred than child-centred; working in isolation from colleagues (including classroom assistants); being a post-holder for reasons of seniority or organisational role rather than curriculum leadership; perceiving parental and gubernatorial involvement as an interference or intrusion into the professional relationship between teacher and child - seeing it as unprofessional.

Changes introduced by James included many new expectations for his staff. These required that the teachers radically change their practice to: generalist teachers; evaluate their work and submit evaluations to the Headteacher; attend regular staff meetings; take part in whole-

school planning and decision-making; take part in INSET sessions for retraining (some at week-ends); engage in collaborative work with colleagues; accept relaxed social relations in the school; and work collaboratively with parents. Further changes in the management culture followed ERA. A significant development in this respect was the creation of a senior management team to plan, monitor and review school policy. Teachers were required to be flexible and move to classes in different year groups. Temporary allowances were awarded for targetted initiatives. Curriculum working parties involving all of the teachers were set up to formulate school policy. Specific job descriptions and teacher appraisal were introduced. Professional survival at the school now seemed to involve fulfilling management's expectations by: accepting a flattened hierarchy in which the Headteacher, although powerful and influential, was also a member of the team. This was a new management discourse evident in: not only the structure of a 'senior management team' but also the idea itself; being able to be a generalist class teacher, but also have some curriculum responsibility such as subject consultant, which involved a staff supervisory/managerial function; accepting a role involving the surveillance of colleagues' work through systems of monitoring and appraisal - also the self-surveillance involved in reviewing work; engaging in flexible work which demanded flexible roles; accepting evaluation, appraisal and multiple-accountability as the ways of raising educational standards; having interpersonal skills to enable relaxed relations with other teachers and children; being willing and able to participate in collaborative work with colleagues; being able to participate in whole-school collegial decision-making by having esoteric educational knowledge acquired in out of school INSET sessions; recognising that teaching and learning is a collaborative and co-operative process involving teachers, parents, LSAs and governors who are partners in education; viewing classroom teaching as only part of the work of the teacher, the other (larger) part being managerial and administrative tasks; demonstrating commitment to the school and education by attending out of school meetings and training and accepting longer hours of work; and working to specific but comprehensive job descriptions.

However, in this process of restructuring not all of the changes were accepted and complied with by the teachers. Contestation and resistance were apparent. Two occupational cultures emerged in response to changed management expectations of professionalism. I named

these the 'old professionals' and the 'new professionals'. The 'old professionals' were the original staff of the school and tended to have been in post for some years. The new professionals were, by and large, newly appointed teachers. The 'old professionals' contested and resisted the changes by using the following modes of secondary adjustment: non-collaboration and co-operation; complaining amongst themselves and to the Headteacher; complaining about attending training sessions; complaining to key members of staff, using wrecking tactics to disrupt whole-school planning sessions; maintaining their definition of professionalism. When these strategies failed, the majority of the 'old professionals' 'rerouted' (Woods, 1995a) in a variety of ways. While some sought jobs in other schools, others gained early retirement or retirement, and one teacher, a breakdown pension. Although the 'new professionals' largely accepted restructuring, they also resisted it using strategies of not conforming to school policy on planning, teaching subjects which were proscribed by school policy, swapping undesired lessons, treating teacher appraisal casually and not collaborating with some of the parents. In doing this, the 'new professionals' were contesting the control and definition of schoolwork which had been imposed by management. Other 'new professionals' proved either reluctant, or not skilled, in their new work. The teachers seemed to comply with the changes which articulated strongly with their values, and, through secondary adjustments, rejected those that did not. In the restructured school the 'new professionals' were held accountable through the process of four yearly inspections by HMI/OFSTED. Their performance was appraised using a codified version ('The Handbook for the Inspection of Schools'; OFSTED, 1993) of managerial discourses and definitions of professionalism. Their work as managers was appraised just as much as their work as teachers. The control of the teachers' work, at the site level, was reinforced by the inspection system.

Further restructuring of the nature, organisation and control of the teachers' work occurred at the school as a result of the headteachers' response to a turbulent external policy and market environment. The Headteacher was responding to a policy context in which he was required to develop the role of subject co-ordinators to improve educational standards and retrain teachers in the National Curriculum. There is widespread official advocacy of restructuring the co-ordinator's role to increasingly involve managerial work outside the

classroom, in the managerial tasks of policy formation, whole-school planning, training, and in the supervision and monitoring of their colleagues' work. This work was best carried out by releasing the co-ordinator from some of their classroom teaching responsibilities, but this had resource implications. However, James was operating in the context of a contraction in the national economy, the primary school population and the amount of finances and resources allocated. This financial situation was compounded by primary schools continuing to receive less funding for the provision of education for each pupil by comparison with children of secondary school age. With Meadowfields trying to deal with financial cuts it was no longer possible to release subject co-ordinators by providing supply teachers.

The problem facing James was how to use his co-ordinators' expertise (by releasing them to work throughout the school) to facilitate school improvement, but do so in the context of financial cuts and falling rolls. He also felt pressure to get round the constraints and tensions arising from having a Deputy Headteacher on a large salary, whose presence was preventing the implementation of a 'genuine' flattened hierarchy in the school. He was, therefore, encouraging the Deputy Headteacher to seek posts in other schools. The pressure to make a decision on restructuring the school was increased by an HMI report which had been critical of the Headteacher's deployment and use of the co-ordinators. The Headteacher, who also felt under pressure, from the local and national state, to run the school efficiently, effectively and economically, responded by restructuring the school organisation, by downsizing (not renewing the contracts of two temporary teachers, thereby reducing the number of teachers) and increasing class sizes. These measures were taken in order to release the Deputy Headteacher who would act as a 'floating' teacher. The Deputy Headteacher could then release the co-ordinators to retrain, supervise and monitor the work of their colleagues. The Deputy Headteacher was referred to as a 'key' teacher in the new organisational structure, for, apart from releasing co-ordinators, he was also required to monitor the work of the teachers of the classes he 'covered'. At the same time the Headteacher wanted the co-ordinators to move each year to a different age group in order to work alongside different teachers and thereby spread their subject expertise amongst the staff. The new system required a new type of flexible professional ('key teacher', 'X factor', rotating subject co-ordinator) who could adapt rapidly to the new roles and

responsibilities. The type of organisation the Headteacher introduced has been described as a 'moving mosaic' which could respond flexibly to rapidly changing circumstances. This form of flexible organisation had, theoretically, the capacity to: promote professional learning; support collaborative working between colleagues in planning and decision-making; improve teaching and learning; empower teachers; and respond to changes in the external environment of the school. Additionally, by depriving the Deputy Headteacher of physical space (his own classroom) and involving him in work which seemed likely to increase role ambiguity and conflict, the new organisation might prove to be a micro-political means of speeding the Deputy Headteacher's departure. However, the restructured mode of organisation failed to become institutionalised within the school. This was owing to unforeseen changes in the external and internal environment of the school and it produced role ambiguities and conflicts for some teachers. The mode of organisation embodied a vision for the school which, in this case, was the Headteacher's vision, and one not shared by the teachers. The process of school development planning had reinforced the new hierarchy of Headteacher and senior management team and largely excluded teachers, governors and parents from participation. Furthermore, some co-ordinators were reluctant to, or not adept at monitor their colleague's work. The new system imposed conditions of 'contrived collegiality' on an occupational culture characterised by informal flexibility and collaboration. In appearance the new mode of organisation resembled a moving mosaic. In reality its effects were manipulative.

At Meadowfields, the self-management system interrelated with school inspections, in order to provide a continuous and pervasive mode of control and surveillance of the teachers' work. Although both systems are predicated on the idea of school improvement they seemed to have a negative impact on educational initiatives in the school which seemed likely to achieve this aim. A central aspect of self-management is the idea of rational planning which is embodied in the SDP. Indeed, it is a key document used by the inspectors in the inspection process. However, the SDP took on a life of its own, and largely, served the purpose of responding to the criticisms contained within a previous inspection report. The new SDP would be the baseline for future inspections and would demonstrate the school's attempt to improve its performance. The teachers developed strategies for coping with self-

management and inspection. Five modes of headteacher and teacher responses were identified. These were: anticipation of surveillance; self-surveillance; impression management; secondary adjustment; and fragmentation.

The central control of schooling achieved by inspection was reinforced by the 'indirect steering' of self-management. The inspectors were an absent presence in the school and, in a sense, the teachers were subjected to their constant gaze. The inspectors' report and their recommendations influenced and constrained the decision-making involved in the formulation of the SDP and activities arising from it. The result of this was reduced rather than enhanced autonomy for the Headteacher and teachers. Furthermore, initiatives in the school which promised school improvement were marginalised in the development planning process.

Although restructuring is a social rather than an individual phenomenon, it is experienced at the personal level and can be interpreted as individual troubles (Mills, 1959; see also chapter 2). In addition to the intensification experienced through the introduction of the new managerialist culture and new roles and responsibilities, workloads had increased. These increases had been incremental. More and more was taken on, while more and more was expected of the individual. The factors which contributed to the teachers' work were as follows: meetings; increased paperwork and administration; curriculum overload; meeting targets; differentiating pupils' work; financial cuts resulting in larger classes; and extra-curricular activities.

Intensification had its consequences. Some teachers felt negatively about their work and experienced guilt. It eroded their leisure time and domestic relationships. A combination of these factors adversely affected their health and impacted negatively on their teaching and managerial work. The teachers, however, developed strategies for dealing with intensification. For example, they used resourcing by enlisting support from colleagues, LSAs and parents. While their work was being intensified it was not wholly deskilled. The teachers expressed a strong vocational commitment and service ethic and were acquiring a new range of professional skills. However, factors other than vocational commitment influenced some teachers in their continuation in an increasingly intensified occupation. A

combination of deteriorating labour market conditions, a differentiated teaching workforce and a strong work ethic in the school was developing a more instrumental commitment in some of the teachers who comprised the peripheral workforce at Meadowfields.

Restructuring is claimed to cause a separation between teachers and managers. This separation, however, is not clearly defined in the primary school. This is so because most teachers (as co-ordinators and members of the senior management team) now have a management role. This is why they have been referred to in official documents as 'subject managers'. The changes in organisation and role are taking place in a context marked by contradictions. For, whilst top-down managerialism is evident and the power and authority of the primary headteacher is undiminished, they co-exist alongside the discourses and practices of devolved management, flattened hierarchies, participative decision-making, collaborative work cultures, shared professional learning and teacher empowerment. Some Meadowfields' teachers were experiencing role conflict between their role as relatively autonomous creative teachers and their role as managers of a new curriculum system' (Woods and Jeffrey, 1996a, p.39). This conflict was experienced by a curriculum co-ordinator. It was impacting on her professional and personal identity. As a member of the senior management team, this teacher played a key role in restructuring the school organisation and occupational culture. But she herself was required to change to fulfil this role. Thus, she was both the subject and the object of change. Her perspective on herself, her work and the social relations in the school revealed ambivalence towards her new role of teacher/manager. She was, in this respect, a reluctant teacher/manager. For, although she was participating and being successful in the new managerial role, she felt uncomfortable in or disliked some intensified aspects of it. There were indications that this role tension was resulting in her experiencing stress. There can be a large investment of the self in primary teaching and there is, perhaps, a close relationship between work and identity formation. At the restructured Meadowfields, teachers were being offered new professional identities which were proving problematical.

The marketisation of schooling has also created new roles and responsibilities in headship. As well as financial management, the Headteacher still maintains responsibility for

curriculum leadership. Some writers on headship have stressed the separation and tension in the headteacher's role between their 'chief executive' and 'leading professional' roles. However, the roles of headship are increasingly more complex than these bi-modal models suggest as there are indications that the headteacher's role is becoming much more diversified since ERA. The headteacher's multifarious role is calling for new adaptations. While there is evidence of some primary heads not adapting to the new demands, James accommodated many of them. They articulated with his sense of self and professional and personal identity. He had developed strategies for managing his role and dealing with diversity. Aspects of his role were as follows: visionary; business manager; educational leader; monitor; cultural manager; and resister. In the new headteacher role he had developed ways of coping with the many constraints of restructuring in the self-managing school. He seemed to represent a new type of headteacher, the entrepreneurial headteacher, who saw restructuring as an opportunity for self-enhancement. He experienced 'extensification' rather than intensification. He was as much making the role as taking it. Like heads of a previous era, he was able to be guardian of the school ethos and personally control the work of the teachers. He was also adept at using micro-political strategies to implement his vision of the school and resolve the tensions of restructuring.

Adapting to Managerialism

It is possible to use the data and analysis of the Meadowfields case study in order to further interrogate the intensification thesis. I argued in chapter 5 that in empirical research on changes in teachers' work, two arguments are frequently used. There are those who claim that the restructuring of education brings work changes which contribute to enhanced professionalism in teachers. Alternatively, it is argued that the historically inevitable process of intensification of teachers' work is occurring. Arguments stressing professionalisation emphasise greater teacher professionalism 'through extensions of the teacher role - more experience of whole-school development and involvement in school cultures of collaboration and support' (A. Hargreaves, 1994a, p.117). On the other hand, Marxist labour process theorists draw attention to intensification as a

major trend to deterioration and deprofessionalisation in teachers' work. (Teaching) has become more routinised and deskilled, more like the degraded work of manual workers and less like that of autonomous professionals, trusted to exercise the power and expertise of discretionary judgement in the classrooms. Work has become increasingly intensified with teachers being asked to respond to greater pressures and comply with multiple innovations under conditions which at best are stable and at worst deteriorating.

(ibid. p. 118).

Woods (1995a), while pointing out teachers' positive reactions to the National Curriculum, notes that the research evidence showing massive work overload, which primary teachers in the English education system have encountered since the introduction of the ERA, lends a great deal of support to the intensification thesis. On the basis of the Meadowfields case study, it seems reasonable to claim that intensification was a major feature of the teachers' working lives. However, it has to be asked, were the teachers becoming deskilled and deprofessionalised as a result? While the teachers were subjectively experiencing apparently worsening work conditions, they were also adopting new roles and responsibilities which required not only new levels of professional skill, but also enhanced professional commitment. Others who have produced evidence which, on the face of it, would support the intensification thesis, have argued that the teachers in their studies were not being deprofessionalised. Campbell et al. (1991, p.31), for instance, concluded a study of infant teachers' work by claiming that '...our evidence suggests that the imposed change of the National Curriculum, far from de-skilling and de-professionalising the teachers was, on the contrary, seen by them as extending their skills and increasing their professionalism'. Osborn et al. (1994), although finding a majority of teachers feeling deskilled, did identify a fifth of their large sample of teachers as feeling empowered by the changes. Acker (1990a, p.270) was 'loath to discuss their (the teachers) perceptions' of enhanced professionalism 'as false consciousness' and concluded that 'their skill feels real to them and looks real to me'. Woods' (1995a) teachers 'recognised intensification for what it was' but 'retained their

reflective ability' and had the self-determination to continue their creative and progressive project (p.65). A. Hargreaves (1994a) finds evidence both to support and refute the intensification argument. His teachers experienced both enhanced professionalism and intensification leading to deskilling. Cooper and MacIntyre (1996), in a study of secondary teachers, show how the teachers extended their professional skills through collaborative working since the introduction of the National Curriculum, which was resulting in shared professional learning and critical reflection on teaching. Evans et al. (1994) noted some teachers in their study, while experiencing the stress of intensified work, becoming 'extended' professionals (Hoyle, 1974) as they improved their whole-school planning, assessment and Science teaching skills. However, the majority of the teachers in Evans et al's study were not found to be responding to the challenges, or taking up the opportunities, for 'extended' professionalism, thrown up in their restructured work. The authors concluded that this group of teachers experienced stress because of the tension between their child/classroom centred philosophy and the official expectation that they engage in whole-school work. It is the view of the authors that teachers experiencing this mode of deskilling not only slow down the reform process but also miss opportunities for professional enhancement. Others, however, have interpreted this form of teacher response as evidence of enhanced professionalism (see below).

Research which supports the idea that intensification need not, necessarily, result in deskilling and deprofessionalisation, but can be accompanied by enhanced professionalism, does not, it seems to me, wholly reflect the complexity of what is happening in the primary school. In such research, there is a tendency to ignore issues of power and professional autonomy and control of work. These issues are all central in deciding if teachers are shifting from professional to technician status. Additionally, the research cited previously which stresses professionalisation rarely includes any analysis of the impact of new management systems, management styles, distributions of power or changed modes of the regulation and control of primary teachers' work. This is surprising, for two reasons. Firstly, much of official education policy seems explicitly concerned with the definition and control and management of teaching as work (Bowe et al. 1992). Secondly, there is mounting empirical evidence from studies of the secondary sector that managerialism is to the fore in strategies

for controlling teachers' work (Ball, 1994; Bowe et al. 1992). Since many of the policies that secondary schools are currently trying to implement also have to be put in place in the primary school, there are good reasons to suspect similar responses.

In this current research, however, control of teachers' work at system and school level was manifest. Central government has, since the mid 1980s, massively (Le Metais, 1995) increased its powers of control over curriculum and assessment, definitions of the 'good teacher' and the pay and conditions of the teaching workforce. Official expectations of the teacher's role have expanded to include subject teaching and assessment, management and administrative responsibilities, and collaborative working. New forms of accountability have led to the increased codification of the work of teaching which is now policed by four yearly OFSTED inspections. If 'control at the system level was 'invisible' in the 1950s and 1960s it is now made very 'visible' (Woods et al. 1997; Grace, 1985)

At the level of the school, it is restructured management systems and cultures which are seen as the vehicles for the implementation of restructuring reforms (Ball, 1994). At Meadowfields, managerialism was a dominant discourse and practice, and I concur with Ball, on the basis of the case study, that,

the work of management is the re-socialisation of the managers and the managed, and the construction of new roles and relationships for and between them is basic to the reform process and the achievement of new forms of control.

(Ball, 1994, pp. 71-72)

Though espousing democratic principles and advocating collaborative working, the Headteacher enjoyed power in unilateral decision-making. This enabled him to define teacher roles and the 'new' professionalism and control the organisation of work. He created new management systems such as the senior management team and school development plan which reinvented hierarchy in the school and sought to further control teachers through appraisal, monitoring and review. These managerial, supervisory and surveillance tasks were carried out by the Headteacher and some of the senior teachers. Teachers afforded responsibility without power were largely excluded from decision-making, and their

intensified work made participation in whole-school planning problematical. Collaborative working, too, may have acted as a further mode of control (Smyth, 1991). Collaborating led to the erosion of the culture of individualism, thus reducing teacher control and autonomy. Through the teachers sharing the Headteacher's vision for the school and being engaged in 'ostensible' collaborative decision-making, it perhaps encouraged their co-optation, so that they came to identify uniformly with the values of the institution (Densmore, 1987). This strong sense of collective responsibility and commitment to the school can put a great deal of pressure upon individuals to deliver whatever the personal cost (Ball, 1994).

All of these system and school measures would seem to be likely to reduce teacher control and discretion in their work. There is evidence from my research to support this view. The teachers were generally compliant with both national and school policy. Indeed, with respect to inspection and school development planning, there was an indication of cultures of 'compliance' and 'dependency' arising, as the teachers were, in some situations, both compliant with and dependent on the views and judgements of external 'experts'. Prime examples of this were the teachers' responses in the wake of an inspection and their willingness to carry out SATs during a national boycott. Much of this evidence bolsters the intensification thesis in that it suggests significant loss of autonomy and control of work and therefore deprofessionalisation. However, management hegemony and intensification could not be assumed in the school. Though systems and culture were changing, control of teachers' work was the outcome of struggle. This kind of process has been termed the 'dialectics of control' by Giddens (1987, in Reay, 1996, p.1). New roles were not unproblematically occupied and implemented by the teachers. Teacher compliance was not automatic. Resistances occurred because some of the teachers were unwilling or unable to fulfil their new role expectations. Some of the 'old professionals' 'rerouted' when they could not adapt to the new roles they were expected to fill. One of this occupational culture, Barry, who remained in the school as Deputy Headteacher, was perceived, by the Headteacher, as lacking the new skills to participate in monitoring and review, and his new role as floating or 'key' teacher was proving ambiguous. Elizabeth, one of the 'new professionals', while feeling ambivalent about her managerial role, and experiencing conflict

and stress, was unwilling to engage with aspects of it which entailed appraisal (even though she was head of appraisal) monitoring and review of colleagues. She was clinging on to her old notions and culture of individualism, and respected colleagues who wanted to retain some individual discretion, control and autonomy in their work. Teachers confronted with tensions and unwilling to occupy the new roles could be viewed as deskilled (Evans et al. 1994). However, Woods et al. (1997) see the successful transformation of these as evidence of an extended and enhanced professionalism. Teaching technicians, on the other hand, would not be likely to experience the tensions of their restructured work and would implement official policy unproblematically (ibid.)

Amongst the staff, it was particularly James, who seemed to be enhanced by his new managerial role. Although this role was not unproblematic, he approached it with enthusiasm, confidence and an absence of conflict. Paradoxically perhaps, James himself had to work within 'tightly prescribed government dictated parameters', and 'the latitude (he could) operate within is dictated by schools' market positions' (Reay, 1996, p.2). His success in resolving tensions was owing to his prowess in micro-political manoeuvring. Since the source of his, and the teachers', tensions were largely at the societal level:

Macro phenomena are implicated in every day micro interactions (Giddens, 1987); the point being that staff relationships within schools need to be conceptualised not simply in terms of interaction within school walls but also as the playing out of governmental and local policy and politics.

(Reay, 1996, pp. 1-2; see also Gillborn, 1994)

Other professionalising trends amongst the teachers included a strong informal culture of collaboration and a strong 'service ethic'. The informal culture allowed professional learning to take place but was also flexible enough to preserve individualised work.

While professional commitment and the service ethic go some way towards explaining the teachers' acceptance of their role and intensified work, other factors were at play at

Meadowfields. These call for an interpretation derived from labour process theory and arise from conditions in the national and local labour market and the work ethic in the school. For there were indications of expressive commitment, giving way to more instrumental commitment, in the case of peripheral workers.

I have tried to convey the complexity of teacher responses to the introduction of managerialism and newly defined roles at Meadowfields school. I conclude that an unproblematic reading of the changes is not possible. We are not faced with a straightforward bi-polar choice, of professionalisation versus intensification, in order to sum up these responses. While some intensification is certainly taking place, it is accompanied by both deskilling and reskilling/upskilling. The teachers, therefore, are simultaneously being professionalised and deprofessionalised (Woods et al. 1997). In other words, restructuring has set in train a process of reprofessionalisation. Clearly then, labour process theory and the intensification thesis are inadequate in order to conceptualise the changes taking place to teacher professionalism at Meadowfields (A. Hargreaves, 1994a; Campbell and Neill, 1994b; Woods, 1995a).

The Implementation of Policy

Research in education policy studies has, for too long, ignored the empirical reality of policy implementation in the primary school (Pollard, 1992). The 'rich underlife of social processes attending the recontextualisation of policy' (Ball, 1994, p.19) has, therefore, been neglected. This study has sought to address this neglect. Although an example of implementation research, it has not adopted the dominant style of this mode of enquiry, or utilised implementation theory. Implementation research has, hitherto, been dominated by a top-down approach guided by state centred theories. In this managerialist perspective, policy is seen as being handed down from policy makers and implemented, unproblematically, at local level. The 'moments' of policy formulation and implementation are seen, in this view, as separate. Emphasis is placed on the effectiveness of implementation from the point of view of policy makers. My research has not been guided by state control theory. Indeed, much of the data examines the 'limits and possibilities of the state reaching into schools' (Ball and Bowe 1992, p.101). In a sense, I have used a partial top-down approach, in that I

have engaged in the analysis of restructuring policies and their implementation at school level. However, it has not been my intention to either assume state hegemony, or assess the success, or otherwise, of the attempts the Headteacher and teachers made to implement official policy. My method has been more bottom up in that I have tried to chart the 'effects' (rather than outcomes) of policy in the school and to understand the actions and motives of the implementors, and 'what takes place' from the inside (Fitz et al. 1994, p.64). Through analysis of policy, at the macro level, in the context of text production, I have revealed some of the generalities of restructuring policies. The specificities of these policies has been explored at the meso and micro levels in the context of implementation. I have shown how official policy is interpreted by participants, at school level, and embodied in school policies. Policy goals are not directly translated into action, but are transformed when they are recontextualised (Ball, 1994). This is so because the policies contain inherent contradictions. For example, LMS, a policy which is intended to give schools more autonomy, when introduced with cuts in funding, is more constraining than enabling (Bowe et al. 1992: Ball, 1994). This had consequences for the Headteacher's attempts to restructure the work of the teachers. New policies are not introduced into organisations on a clean slate (Tritter, 1995). Old policies litter the scene, therefore making implementation more complex.

I have exposed some of the struggles over the implementation of policy. In focusing on how the participants deal with the problems that policies raise for them, I have shown something of the impact that the policies have on their consciousness and sense of self. The participants' responses indicate 'creative social action not robotic reactivity' (Ball, 1994, p.19). This analysis has attempted to link the macro (via the meso) to the micro, showing how agency and structure are implicit in one another. Through their 'secondary adjustments' and contestations of the control over their work, the teachers created 'spaces' for manoeuvre. In some cases, control was resisted; in others, official policy was subverted. I did not see failure to implement policy in intended ways as an implementation failure, but as the re-creation of policy (Bowe et al. 1992). In the shift to a more tightly 'regulated autonomy', the teachers retained a degree of 'licensed autonomy' in their work. This exposes the limits and possibilities of state control. Although this current study may suggest that the implementation process is characterised by 'ad hocery, serendipity, muddle and

negotiation' (Ball, 1994, p.16), I do not want to lose sight of state centred explanations. The restructuring of definitions of the work of teaching, teachers and their work is being carried out, sometimes at great personal cost to individuals. I do not, therefore, seek to celebrate agency at the expense of structure.

Elmore reminds us that

since virtually all public policies are executed by large public organisations...only by understanding how organisations work can we understand how policies are shaped in the process of implementation.

(Elmore, 1978, p.187)

Given the importance of complex organisations in the policy process, we need an understanding of their structure and the behaviour of people and the roles they play in implementation. While not entirely excluding conflict, primary school organisation and culture has previously been portrayed in other studies as relatively harmonious (Nias et al. 1989). The micro-political perspective of this study has shown the importance of human relationships to institutional performance and how policy is not only a constraint to participants but also a micro-political resource in the control of work and its contestation. My analysis highlighted the key role of management and pervasive managerialism in restructuring at school level. The primary school is an 'adaptive social structure' (Selznick, 1949), in which informal social systems develop as a result of pressures from both the external and internal environments. I have argued that, micro-political processes in the primary school studied were, in large part, stimulated by the tensions introduced with policies, rather than individuals merely attempting to maximise their interests. Again the macro is implicated in the meso and micro. There is some indication that the micro-politics of primary schooling is likely to intensify as external controls strengthen (Reay, 1996)

The idea of a policy cycle suggests that problems experienced at the implementation stage may react back on the context of influence thus leading to policy reformulation. Recent examples of this process would be the national boycott on SATs, and knowledge of teacher work overload leading to policy review and amendment (Dearing, 1994). The micro-politics

of policy can 'force policy adjustments at the centre' (Fitz et al. 1994, p.60). However, the current study does not offer unbridled optimism concerning the 'recursive nature' of the policy cycle (ibid.). Rather than policy makers listening to teachers' views on their changed work, there now seems to be a consensus and political will amongst the two major political parties that school improvement is to be sought by further tightening the control of teachers' work.

Some Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

Research of the type undertaken in this study, sometimes opens up unexpected areas of enquiry. Other areas, however, are closed down. It would, in retrospect, have aided the comparative dimension of the study if I had gained access to a second school which was situated in a less favourable context. Osborn et al. (1996), for instance, note that teachers in inner city areas face very different problems which have significance in shaping different kinds of professional identity. Teachers in inner-city areas were found to experience difficulties in adapting the National Curriculum to the individual needs of their pupils, and therefore, viewed it as a constraint. Alternatively, teachers in middle class areas were seen to view the National Curriculum as enhancing their professionalism. I lacked the opportunity of making this kind of comparison of teachers' work. I would also have liked to have included in-depth comparative case studies of the teachers' adaptations. Elizabeth proved to be a prime example, amongst the staff, of a subject manager who seemed to be coping successfully with the new role. However, Frances could not adapt to her changed work and eventually left the school having gained early retirement. This occurred towards the end of the fieldwork stage of the research, thus making further data collection, although not impossible, very difficult.

This study has questioned the plausibility of the intensification thesis and theories of policy which stress linearity. Therefore, as a general point, I would wish to follow Campbell and Neill's injunction that in future,

we may need a more cautious approach to theorising, based on more broadly based observations of reality, to more accurately understand the process of schooling and to respect both its complexity and the perceptions of those engaged in it.

(Campbell and Neill, 1994b, p. 214)

My study, though casting doubt on the intensification thesis, is a case study of one school, therefore making empirical generalisation impossible. The thesis now, ideally, requires testing in different sites. Other explanations of the changes in teachers' work also need grounding and interrogating. Woods et al. (1997), for instance, have argued that the current changes may be explained by using status passage theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1971). From this perspective, the events and processes in schools which have been recorded by researchers in the 1980s and early 1990s may indicate, not permanent change and deprofessionalisation, but a 'liminal phase in transition with a certain amount of confusion and experimentation' (Woods et al. 1997, p.200). It is worthwhile, at this juncture, to consider alternative explanations for the phenomena I have described in this study. Menter et al. (1995a, p.19), for instance, conclude their study of primary teachers' work by arguing that their findings,

propose that apparent contradictions in primary teachers' reported experience of reform may be understood through appreciation of the co-optive force of new managerial discourse, and its penetrative power. Thus, the contrasting public and private accounts of the women teachers in our study are not reflections of their confusion, or their (gendered) conscientiousness, or their false consciousness, or incomplete processes of cultural change, but represent accurately the fragmented and fractured identities that post-Fordist work organisation brings with it.

To test this thesis would require longitudinal empirical work but we now have a relatively solid baseline of data and findings to serve as a platform for such work. Other competing theories are, therefore, in need of examination. Menter et al. (1995a) use Casey's (1995) pathbreaking social psychological research on the postmodern technological workplace in

order to theorise changes in teachers' work and control. The authors are indebted to Casey's ideas when she argues for the,

continuing importance of work in shaping identity, and supports her argument with an analysis of the impact of the new managerialism on the workforce in a multinational corporation. She pays particular attention to the ways in which the new managerialism functions as a discursive structure and process, and discusses the different forms of accommodation adopted by workers attempting to protect their psychic health from the consequences of new work forms.

(Menter et al. 1995a, p.19)

I was very much aware in the conduct of the research and analysis that the primary school is a gendered workplace. The majority of the teachers were female and the Headteacher and Deputy Headteacher were male. This, of course, mirrors the occupational composition of primary teaching. Yet gender and gendered responses to changing work regimes does not figure prominently in my research report. This aspect, too, is in need of research since feminist theory suggests that a process of the re-gendering of work is taking place in primary schools (Mac an Ghaill, 1996b). Indeed, I had some evidence to support this. James' management style could be seen as patriarchal and continuing a long tradition in primary schooling (Woods et al. 1997). Barry, on the other hand, was seen to lack the skills of new management, with women being preferred in his place. The interpersonal and collaborative skills required in the new work roles have traditionally been associated with female workers (Acker, 1995). Given the inadequacy of labour process explanations to fully explain what is happening in primary schools, further research, adopting a gender perspective, might fruitfully be employed.

The study has attempted to link the macro with the meso and micro levels of analysis by using a policy trajectory model. However, the site of policy formulation (context of influence) has been ignored by sociologists of education (Pollard, 1992). While there are studies of policy making no study focuses on policy formulation in primary education (ibid.). While this aspect went beyond the scope of the present study, it is a neglect which

should be addressed. I am aware of the criticisms which implementation research has attracted (Ozga, 1990; Gewirtz and Ozga, 1990). Ozga, for example, has berated implementation researchers for,

keeping well away from agendas which focus on theorising the role of the state in education - preoccupied instead with gathering rich descriptions, without sufficient thought to the nature of the thing being described.

(Ozga, 1990, p.360)

Further, she notes that a tendency in implementation studies is to emphasise complexity and contradiction and, therefore, to draw upon modes of explanation derived from pluralist theories. However, she argues that state centred theory 'is perfectly capable of accommodating complexity and difference, it is only in its caricatured form that it appears to provide overdetermined and deterministic explanations' (ibid. p.361). Engaging in this type of work would seem to require going beyond existing research paradigms. It would, apparently, involve a coalition of theorists of the state and empirical researchers.

Alternatively, multiple case studies could be used to question state control theory. According to Ozga (1990), Dale's (1990) paper on City Technology College policy provides an example of this approach. Without adopting these types of strategies Ozga (1990, p.361) concludes that researchers who have a descriptive rather than explanatory purpose will be 'busy but blind'.

We need to know the extent to which changes in work and its management in the primary school are reflections of changes taking place in work generally in public and private sectors. Connections could be made between theoretical and empirical studies in mainstream labour process research and research on the primary school. While this project has been started (Menter et al. 1997), the area remains a rich site for ethnographic enquiry.

Pollard (1992), too, is concerned to link the macro with the micro. He argues that the 'core sociological issue of the relationship of the individual to society, of agency and constraint, control and order - will achieve an enhanced place, at the centre of studies in primary education' (p.119). While the current study has explored this issue, further detailed work is

required in order to examine some of the complexities of intensification. We need, for instance, to be able to explain why, for some teachers, intensification induces professional enhancement, while for others, it accelerates stress and burnout. A development of this current study would be to explore the experiences of teachers who have experienced difficulty in adapting to their restructured and intensified work. There were indications in my study that some of the teachers, while managing to cope, were obviously experiencing high levels of stress. There was little opportunity to follow up this aspect in the current research, but a development of this focus would further develop an understanding of the relationship between the individual and society. Though there are many statistical studies of stress,

there is an urgent need for sociological and detailed qualitative research. Stress is a multi-dimensional and multi-levelled phenomenon, and personal (micro) situational (meso) and structural factors are involved in its production (Woods, 1995b). It is an individually experienced phenomenon which is socially produced. There are certainly the personal elements of personality, commitment, career and role, and values involved. There are situational ones, too, of school organisation, teacher culture and teacher/pupil relationships. However, there are also wider factors such as the wholesale restructuring of schools and teaching which has been taking place in recent years, which some argue has led to the intensification of work.

(Woods, 1996c, p.1)

Despite much psychological work in this area, we still lack detailed testimony from teachers on how they experience and feel about work and change and exactly how intensification is stress producing. This dimension is missing from the present study, as is a detailed treatment of teachers' emotions and the relationship between their emotional states and their changed work. This is a fruitful area for future research, as it is suggested by existing studies (Nias, 1989; A. Hargreaves, 1994a and 1997; Jeffrey and Woods, 1996) that how teachers feel about their work has a direct impact on their effectiveness, professional development and continuance in teaching.

Policy Implications

Although the theory generated in my research may be applicable in other contexts, until modified by further work, I hesitate to make firm policy recommendations on the basis of a single case study. I am also mindful of the poor record educational research has had in informing policy. In recent years findings from educational research have been ignored, misused or abused (Hammersley and Scarth, 1993). However, I do think that a study of this nature does have several policy implications.

Perhaps the most obvious implication relates to the financing of primary education. It is unlikely that we will be able to turn the clock back and revert to previous modes of teacher work, even if that were desirable. It is important then for primary schools to be financed to facilitate new forms of staff deployment and school organisation. This would probably take the form of activity-led staffing which was suggested some time ago (Thomas, 1990; Campbell, 1989). This would go some way to reduce the intensification of work, by providing non-contact time and encourage genuine collaboration and democratic schooling for educational improvement. I am well aware of the further constraints that introducing preparation time can bring (A. Hargreaves, 1994a), but I would see such provision helping to prevent teachers going through the same kinds of convolutions that the Meadowfields teachers went through in order to implement their new roles and responsibilities.

The study suggested that changing teachers' role is likely to be central to restructuring initiatives. If this is the case, then increased managerial controls will be likely to be set in place in order to shut down teacher 'spaces' for contestation and resistance to the new initiatives. If teacher compliance to controls is replacing professional knowledge with managerialism and retarding genuine educational gains, then we need to think seriously about the nature of the controls and how they can be changed. Tightly controlled teachers, whether by coercive or apparently benign management regimes are likely to lack both the opportunity and spirit to take risks in innovatory educational projects (Woods et al. 1997). Teachers will need some support in their new roles. I think it is important that this provision be critically informed by empirical studies of the organisation of primary schools and

teachers' work, rather than theories of administration and management which are disarticulated from the micro-politics of schooling.

Finally, the study has contributed to understanding the policy process in that it has included the voices of teachers, described their work and the conditions in which it takes place.

However, teachers' voices and knowledge of their work cultures and what constraints they work under have, in the last decade, been excluded from policy formulation. Teachers' have largely been the objects of change in the name of school improvement. Education policy formulation of the future needs to be informed by a number of detailed studies of teachers' perspectives, cultures and workplace. This study is a contribution to that project.

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APPENDIX

No Entry Signs: Educational Change and Some Problems Encountered in Negotiating Entry to Educational Settings

Introduction

For those embarking on ethnographic fieldwork a necessary first stage involves gaining entry to the setting which has been chosen for study. This vital phase of the research is encountered by novitiate and experienced researchers alike. Whether the focus of study is to be a formal organisational culture, like a school, or an informal culture such as a deviant group of adolescents, the researcher, in order to gain access to participants, develop field relations, collect and analyse data, must first successfully negotiate entry to the culture. This process typically involves the fieldworker negotiating with a participant who has authority in the setting, who is a prominent reality definer in the group, and who acting as 'gatekeeper', has the power to grant or deny entry to the researcher. This power differential, is then, not to the advantage of the researcher, in this or any other stage of ethnographic fieldwork (Hammersley, 1993].

Gaining entry however is a stage in research which is not without its difficulties. Stephen Ball (1990a] reminds ethnographers that the art of gathering soft data is no soft option. This is so because in ethnographic fieldwork the researcher is the prime research instrument. Researchers in this tradition:

stand alone with their individual selves. They themselves are the primary research tool with which they must find, identify, and collect the data. They must charm the respondents into cooperation. They must learn to blend or pass in the research setting, put up with the boredom and horrors of the empty notebook cringe in the face of *faux pas* made in front of those whose cooperation they need, and engage in the small deceptions and solve the various ethical dilemmas which crop up in most

ethnographies.

(Ball, 1990a. p.157]

Since in ethnographic studies the researcher is the 'primary research tool' entering the culture which is to be the focus of study is for the ethnographer high in 'risk, uncertainty and discomfort' (Ball, 1990a, p. 157.). All of these threats are particularly heightened during the negotiation of entry. The researcher's feelings of self-doubt, uncertainty and frustration, at this stage, are well summarised by Hughes (1960) an experienced ethnographer, when he confessed that 'I have usually been hesitant in entering the field myself and have perhaps walked around the block getting up my courage to knock at doors more often than almost any of my students' (cited in Shaffir et al 1980, p.28.).

Despite the crucial significance of the process of negotiating entry , for without entry no ethnographic work can proceed, it has not always been awarded the attention it deserves by sociologists of education. Acknowledging the complexities, both psychological and emotional, of gaining entry, requires the production of reflexive accounts of this vital phase in the research process. Notwithstanding repeated calls for reflexivity in research reports (Hammersley, 1984) reflexive accounts of negotiating entry are rather thin on the ground. This neglect can probably be accounted for by researcher elation, at finally gaining entry, quickly giving way under pressures of data collection and analysis once the field is entered (Shaffir et al. 1980) Thus the entry phase assumes reduced significance. Another possibility of course is that the absence of rich and lengthy methodological accounts in many published qualitative studies is owing to publisher editing, as their priorities lie with book length and potential readership rather than with methodological development.

Those accounts which deal (but not always at length) with gaining entry, and its importance in the whole research process, focus on the researcher's self and the psychological difficulties and dangers the researcher encounters when negotiating with gatekeepers (Habenstein, 1970; Denzin, 1978; Beynon, 1983; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Burgess, 1984; Woods, 1986; Shaffir and Stebbins, 1980 and 1991; Ball, 1990a). This

concentration on the self is quite proper for successful negotiation of entry does undoubtedly require particular skills in the researcher. In order to gain entry the researcher must among many things be able to successfully 'sell' their research topic, to be aware of and use presentation of self and impression management (see for example Delamont (1984) on the researcher's use of appropriate dress at the entry and access stages in schools, alternatively Parry's (1987) abandonment of clothes for access to a nudist club), to be as theoretically well prepared as possible and to know something about the research setting.

Glazer (1972) too stresses the importance of the researcher's self 'and suggests that a fuller understanding of how the researcher gains initial acceptance is related to three components of the research relationship: (1) the appropriateness of the research project to the setting. (2) the researcher's personal makeup and his or her ability to enlist the support of others; and (3) the way respondents, given their personal needs and perspectives, view the project and the researcher' (cited in Shaffir et al. 1980, p.29.).

Glazer and other writers who concentrate on the importance of the self and researcher knowledge of the micro-context and the researcher's capacity to, in a sense manipulate relationships in a micro-context, are quite correct to maintain this emphasis. The stress on self, context, meaning and understanding also resonates with a main theoretical perspective of ethnographic work, symbolic interactionism.

As Shaffir and Stebbins (1991) point out:

'This emphasis suggests that entering the field and cultivating rich relationships are attributable mainly to the researcher's personal attributes and self-presentation and to others' judgements of him or her as a human being.'

(Shaffir and Stebbins, 1991, p.29)

However, I want to suggest in this article that by solely concentrating on researcher's self and micro-context as explanatory factors in the successful or indeed unsuccessful negotiation

of entry in research projects, methodological writers obscure the influence of the macro-context on research relationships. This difficulty is of course a form of the micro-macro problem (A. Hargreaves, 1986). What are the relative influences of the micro and macro on the meanings and actions of actors in particular social contexts?

I want to concentrate on and develop Glazer's third component of research relationships in the entry process, ie. 'the way respondents, given their personal needs and perspectives view the project and the researcher'. I will do this by not focusing on the researcher's self and the micro-context in the negotiation process but upon the macro-context in which the negotiation is occurring. I am interested here in what ways the 'needs' and 'perspectives' of participants may be influenced by forces beyond the micro-context of the school. In doing this I'm not questioning the importance of self and micro-context, indeed this is certainly the basis of a further article. I feel this is not merely a theoretically and methodologically important task but it is an approach which has the capacity, in going beyond the micro, to assess the impact of wider social forces on the organisational culture of the school (Reynolds, 1984; Gillborn, 1994) and by integrating policy analysis with ethnography, provide a 'bigger picture' (Ozga, 1990) than ethnography could alone.

This change in emphasis is important because ethnographers trying to accomplish entry to schools must appreciate that they are attempting entry to a changed context. Since the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act schools in all sectors of the education system have been subjected to change on an unprecedented scale (Flude and Hammer, 1990) it is now timely for ethnographers to calculate the implications of these changes for their own projects.

Background to the Research

In the remainder of the article I want to provide a macro-contextualisation of my attempts to gain entry in my present research project. It is necessary therefore to describe it briefly. The research took the form of the conventional stages of: the identification of a research topic; the preparation of a research proposal; the submission of the proposal to a funding body; the

identification of likely settings for ethnographic fieldwork; the negotiation of entry to apparently suitable settings; the negotiation of access to participants; the ongoing data collection, analysis and writing. The substantive focus of the research was an investigation into the impact of education reform (those measures contained within the Education Reform Act 1988) on the work of primary school teachers in the English education system. I intended to collect data as participant observer and using semi-structured interviews with teachers in a comparative study of two primary schools. Negotiating with a great many schools took five months and I eventually only gained entry to one school, therefore having to modify the research proposal and research plans. I subsequently spent eighteen months engaged in fieldwork in this school. The comparative approach using two schools was abandoned but a method incorporating constant comparison (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was still possible within one school.

In the following sections I explore instances when I was not granted entry. In the article I discuss negotiations with eleven schools and the reasons for refused entry. The names of the schools are substituted by a letter of the alphabet and they are categorised as in the table on the following page. In the article these cases will be placed in a context which goes beyond the researcher's self, research relationships and the micro-context and considers wider social forces in the macro-context of the negotiations. The section headings, therefore, represent explanatory factors for my unsuccessful attempts to gain entry. These categories overlap and interrelate, they are treated separately here simply to aid analysis.

The Intensification of Teachers' Work

Of all the recent changes which have taken place in teachers' work perhaps the most striking and well documented change is in the amount of work itself and the time expended in doing it (Apple, 1986; Campbell et al, 1993; Pollard et al, 1994; Woods, 1994a; A. Hargreaves 1994). In teachers' work more and more has to be done as the pace of curriculum reform has accelerated since the legislated changes of the Education Reform Act 1988. While the volume of work has expanded dramatically the time taken to do it has remained constant (ie. the

length of the school day). Teachers have responded to this situation either by taking short-cuts or, in the main, extending hours of work beyond the school day leading to the erosion of leisure and relaxation time (A. Hargreaves, 1994).

<u>Reasons for Refused Entry</u>	<u>School</u>
The Intensification of Teachers' Work	A.D.E.F.H.
Fear of Surveillance from External Experts.	A.B.
Teachers' Perceptions of Educational Researchers.	C.
The Presence of Other Researchers.	C.D.F.G.H.
Changing Patterns of Teacher Education.	H.I.
The Declining Powers of Local Education Authorities.	E.
Financial Considerations.	J.
Headteacher Illness, Burnout, Envy.	E.H.
The Temporal Phenomenology of the School.	I.K.

One headteacher with whom I was negotiating entry spoke of the tiredness of the staff and mentioned that a husband of one of the teachers had phoned him to complain that his wife worked at home every night until nine o'clock on school work and was there anything the headteacher could do about this (school A). A major aspect of the pace and orchestration of change, involving further work, has been the frequency of policy documents which arrived

regularly at schools from central agencies such as the National Curriculum Council and the School Examinations and Assessment Council (recently amalgamated into the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority). Schools have been charged with the implementation of these policy documents, they are Statutory Orders not merely educational advice. This has been no straightforward matter as not only have teachers had to cope with the sheer volume of policy paperwork but also to accommodate to the many changes which have taken place in policy since 1988, a relatively short period of time. Frequent curricular and assessment reviews have meant that the teachers have had considerably more work to do in implementation and they have had to do this in a constantly changing context, one characterised by ambiguity, uncertainty and insecurity.

Schools have responded differently to this policy onslaught. While some schools with a history of professional self-confidence and innovation have taken ownership of the documents 'decoded them' and used them to the school's ends, others less professionally confident and unused to change have been swamped by the documentation and in awe of the authority of it have slavishly tried to implement policy to the letter (Bowe and Ball, 1992). The latter adaptation has proved unproductive for many as it does not take account of either the contradictions built into policy (some aspects may be impossible to implement by anybody) or the rapidly changing nature of the policy following frequent review. Some primary Headteachers who have recognised that their staffs have been fully stretched in implementing existing policy have been reluctant to burden their teachers further by giving them access to new or amended policies. This has literally meant that the heads shielded and protected their staffs by not informing them of current changes or upcoming changes for it would further dispirit them and devalue their existing efforts at implementation. This of course has implications for the culture of the school. One headteacher with whom I was negotiating entry claimed that his school had developed a 'siege mentality' (Woods, 1994a):

To survive the past four years staff had to rely on mutual support, this leads to insularity. The head deals with outside agencies . As head I deal with all outside

agencies to prevent overload and staff worrying, I try to shield the staff.

(Head - School A)

Now, as a researcher approaching the school I was of course, in the perspective of the headteacher, merely another outside agency to protect his staff from. Since my research required teachers in the school to divert time and energy to my research enterprise and, for all they knew, subject their practice to critical scrutiny, it was not surprising that this headteacher, perhaps fearing my presence would increase work levels for his staff, did not grant entry. On several occasions heads, who had been enthusiastic about my research in the negotiation stage, told me that they would put my request to the Senior Management Team (SMT) and if they agreed then permission to research would be granted. Many of these apparently enthusiastic heads phoned back to say they had done this but their SMT had been unwilling to have me in the school. Given the strength of the 'siege mentality' in many schools and the adaptation of headteachers to protect their staffs I conjectured how many headteachers actually did go through this process. Heads wanting to shield staff would presumably not tell the SMT and when they phoned me back they could then deny entry but continue to proclaim their enthusiasm for the project whilst laying off responsibility for the refusal onto the SMT. A body of course whom in these circumstances I had not been given the opportunity to meet. Alternatively, the head's enthusiasm may have been generated by actually meeting the researcher. Where the SMT have not had the same experience they may be suspicious of the researcher and have anxieties concerning the research process which the researcher has no opportunity of diffusing.

From my theoretical preparation it was evident to me that the intensification of work would be a key category to be explored. It was, therefore, the ultimate in irony to be denied access to schools when the stated reason was work overload of teachers and the pace of educational change, the very things I wished to research. Irony is also a salient feature of the categories which follow.

Fear of Surveillance from External 'Experts'

Primary teachers no longer work in isolation, with measures such as teacher appraisal, including classroom observation and the requirement of curriculum co-ordinators having to spread good practice throughout the school by working alongside colleagues. Despite the move to collaborative working as a new occupational culture which is now becoming almost mandatory (Lawn, 1988) many schools still maintain an 'old' occupational culture characterised by teachers working in isolation from their colleagues. In this type of culture the 'walls of privatism' (Fullan, 1988) remain uncracked. It is a culture of individualism and privatism in which working collaboratively and engaging in shared professional learning (Nias et al, 1992) does not occur. In a culture of individualism and privatism teachers may come to fear observation of their work by colleagues. This fear would likely be greater if external authorities were involved, for example, local authority advisors/inspectors or Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) inspectors.

Some schools in addition to developing the 'siege mentality' have experienced the 'Key Stage Cops' syndrome (Campbell et al. 1992). In this condition teachers perceive that the National Curriculum has been devised by external 'experts' and then handed down to the teachers for implementation. This is a centre-periphery model of curriculum development. Because of the complexity and in some senses novelty of the National Curriculum the teachers come to experience feelings of inadequacy as they wonder if they are implementing the reforms in the exact ways that the external 'experts' intended. As they struggle to implement the curriculum they also know that 'policing' systems are in place to ensure that they plan, teach and assess in line with the National Curriculum requirements. In the 'key stage cops' syndrome feelings of inadequacy coupled with knowledge of accountability systems and knowledge that they are accountable to a large range of constituencies results in fear of surveillance of their work by outside 'experts'. The teachers are constantly looking over their shoulders and feeling that they may be doing things wrongly and that at any moment somebody is going to discover this, with dire consequences for the teacher. Campbell et al. (1992) describe this as a 'paranoia about accountability' with teachers living

in fear of 'the Key Stage Cops' coming. However, 'it was a figment of the imagination, given the numbers of inspectors in relation to schools, but (nevertheless) was a real influence on the way teachers saw their work.' (p. 8).

The director of the National Primary Centre in the region in which I was negotiating entry with schools considered that this atmosphere of fear would actually increase my chances of gaining entry, since heads were looking for ways to get teachers into the classrooms of their colleagues to 'get them used to observation and having someone in the room in a non-threatening way before the men (sic) with clipboards arrive.' He thought that the presence of a researcher would serve the same function. However in one school in which the staff were used to working co-operatively (school A) the threat of external surveillance from an unknown outsider, the researcher, was too much to allow entry. The headteacher of this school put my research proposal to his staff, at a full staff meeting, and reported back to me that:

Five Years ago you wouldn't have had this problem. I was quite amazed at the reactions of the staff and they are used to working collaboratively with each other and alongside advisors and advisory teachers, classroom observation seems to be the sticking point. One teacher had said at the staff meeting 'the thought of being observed makes me feel all funny inside.'

(Headteacher - School A)

This mode of adaptation could be considered as a manifestation of deskilling as some teachers come to lose ownership of their traditional craft skills as their work becomes merely to implement the plans devised by others, elsewhere. Kincheloe (1991) has argued that in advanced capitalist societies conceptions of scientific technical rationality are dominant and the prevailing conception of science is one of positivism. In this 'culture of positivism' (Giroux (1981), following Horkheimer, (1974)) the 'expert' comes to oppress the non-experts, who see the judgement of the oppressive expert and the system in which it is made as legitimate (Marcuse, 1964). In this way the oppressed contribute to their own oppression.

In the 'key stage cops' syndrome the teachers come to fear further oppression from external experts.

At one school (school B) negotiation of entry was postponed by the female headteacher because the school was shortly to have its first OFSTED general inspection. After the inspection the headteacher merely phoned to tell me that there was no point in visiting the school to negotiate. Others with close connections with the school, an education lecturer and researcher who was liaison tutor for the school and a teacher who was a parent of a child at the school later told me that the inspectors had been highly critical of the school in their published report. During the inspection the inspectors had been openly critical of the teachers' practice and had communicated this in a rude and unprofessional way. This news had reverberated around the other schools in the district and fuelled the fear of external surveillance. This may be the intention behind government policy on school improvement, for following news of the first primary school to fail inspection on November 3rd 1993, John Patten, the then Secretary of State for Education 'was careful to stress that most schools in Britain did a terrific job. He said 'there are schools which sometimes do badly - a small handful but let's hope the mere fact of publication will spur on all schools that might fall under this particular glare'. (Guardian 4/11/93). These events were occurring at the time of my entry negotiations.

Teacher Perceptions of Educational Researchers

Historically teachers and educational researchers have not enjoyed good relations. The findings of sociologists have proved, in the past, to be largely irrelevant to life in schools and teachers' daily concerns. In other words, 'sociologists typical theoretical abstraction seemed remote from the hard realism of the school (Woods and Pollard, 1988, p.8).

Another factor which may worsen relations between teachers and researchers is that the teachers may come to feel that they are merely being 'used' by the researcher. As one researcher (Beynon 1983, p.47) was told, 'When you first arrived we all thought here's another bloke getting a degree on our backs! We resented the idea we were just fodder for

research'. Teachers have also not fared well from some of the findings of educational researchers. For since the late sixties the practice of 'teacher bashing' has been as prevalent amongst sociologists as it has been amongst members of the Right. Extreme right wing politicians and party advisors bashed teachers (at length in the media) because they were held to be 'trendy', left-wing, subversives who were undermining the educational standards of the children they taught (or more correctly from their perspective didn't teach) and were destroying the moral character of a once great Nation.

For some sociologists of education, particularly neo-Marxists, teachers were seen to be witting or unwitting agents of the State which in capitalist societies preserved the conditions for capital to flourish. The role that teachers were held to play in this type of society was in the maintenance of the status quo sustaining the unjust society and the reproduction of the next labour force by equipping them with the correct dispositions and skills (with an emphasis on dispositions) with which to generate surplus value for capital. Teachers in this view were mere servants of the State (Lawn and Grace, 1987.). Teachers are, I believe still reeling from the blows which they have received from both the left and the right. Bashing has not been limited to teachers however. As early as the 1950's David Eccles the Tory Minister of Education (and *ex officio* president of the National Foundation of Educational Research!) declared that 'educational research was an activity imposed by the long haired on the long suffering.' (cited in Cunningham, 1988, p.44). This relatively humorous abuse has recently grown more serious. Sociologists and social scientists have in turn been bashed by the New Right and subjected to a similarly vehement 'discourse of derision' (Ball, 1990b) as the teachers. This has resulted in, for example, a movement away from theoretically based courses in Higher Education (including of course sociology of education for intending teachers) towards the practice orientated school-based preparation of teachers. Educational research findings have been subject to abuse and misuse by central government and policy making has not been informed by research (except a particular kind -see Alexander et al, 1992 and Hammersley and Scarth's 1993 critique) but by dogma forged in a climate of non-rationality (Gipps, 1993; Black, 1993.).

The alleged irrelevance of research, and the public rubbing of researchers and their research products might lie behind the comment of one headteacher who replied to my request for entry that he thought 'research (including my proposed research) was saturated with aspects not related to **real** learning for the children' (school C). This quotation also reveals a recognition that not only might schools consider educational research irrelevant to educational practice but accurately, that until recently (Pollard, 1990; Woods, 1993.) sociologists have eschewed topics related **directly** to teaching and learning.

The Presence of Other Researchers

The teacher as researcher (Stenhouse, 1975.) and reflective pedagogy movements have now become the new orthodoxies of initial teacher education (Menter and Pollard, 1989.). In these models of teacher preparation and professional development the traditional barriers lying between theory, research and practice are broken down as practitioners themselves engage in research on their own practice (and perhaps the practice of colleagues) which involves the stages of issue identification data collecting, analysis and reflection informing the next phase in a spiralling programme of action and reflection (Pollard and Tann, 1987). These pedagogic philosophies articulate well with school-based models of teacher education because, being implemented in the workplace, they legitimate practitioner knowledge and encourage both practical theorising and the theorisation of practice. Courses in initial teacher education now typically involve forms of serial and block school experience which involve students in not only learning practical aspects of teaching but in research and reflection on that teaching and the context in which it takes place. Course requirements in initial teacher education often include the assessment of small scale, practice orientated research conducted by students. These requirements place an additional responsibility on the schools because they are now required to accept students for the traditional 'teaching practice' elements of courses and also accept students for the research projects. Many of the schools I contacted in initial negotiations refused at an early stage because they claimed to have students already in school conducting research.

Courses for practicing teachers too are influenced strongly by notions of practitioner research and reflective teaching sometimes expressed in the notion of action research. Owing to the demise of long award bearing courses involving teacher secondments, teachers are increasingly engaging in professional development in the workplace on a part time basis and often financed by the teachers themselves. These changes stimulated by Local Management of Schools including Formula Funding have ensured that teacher research is often confined to the teacher's workplace. Several schools (schools C,D,F,G,H,) I approached said that their school 'had been researched , or was being researched by a teacher at the school', and that 'it would be unwise for me to carry out further research at their school' (school C).

The area in which I was intending to undertake the research was one in which there were several institutions of higher education. Each of these institutions had departments of education. Particular schools, therefore, were either consistently approached by postgraduate research students or had postgraduates already in the school.

A philosophy of vocational preparation and development which stresses the centrality of the research process in practitioner learning is not restricted to teacher education but also underpins other types of post sixteen education. In Further Education, courses such as BTEC (Business and Technician Education Council) and NVQ (National Vocational Qualification) in the 'caring' semi-professions such as nursery nursing often include a school-based placement in which small-scale research or the production of a report of the placement is a course requirement. Even students at secondary schools taking TVEI (Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative) courses or on work experience courses may be required to complete an information gathering exercise and the completion of a report to satisfy course assessment criteria. Many of the schools where I failed to gain entry stated that they had a number of students from Higher and Further Education already in the school and that this was adding to the workload of the staff. Approaches to local authority advisory staff to ask them to suggest suitable schools for the research to take place often resulted in the staff recommending the same small handful of schools who consequently were presumably inundated by many interested researchers.

Entry was denied to me on some occasions owing to the headteacher having perceived the behaviour of a previous researcher as unethical or insensitive. For instance some schools mentioned that they'd had a researcher previously who had been 'very critical of the school' and who hadn't 'handled the feedback session with staff very well'. (school H) Comments such as these elicited recollections of documented reflexive accounts of the dissemination of research reports by the researcher to the researched (Ball 1984; Woods, 1994b) a process which is difficult for the researcher to control. It is difficult to stop implied criticism from being personalised and easy to fall foul of the micro-politics of the institution as warring factions amongst the researched turn researcher's findings to their own purposes, to gain political advantage. It is a process too in which the researched may come to avoid the gaze of researchers in future and thus avoid any actual or implied criticism, which may come from the findings, of a researcher working in a 'critical' tradition. Obviously trying to gain entry to a school where another researcher has 'queered the patch' is fraught with problems, even if entry is gained in such circumstances subsequent attempts to negotiate access to participants would likely be unfruitful. Once bitten, as they say, is twice shy.

Changing Patterns of Teacher Education

Tory government fear of the radical and subversive potential of educational theory (Dale, 1992.) linked with a desire to reduce public expenditure¹ has introduced school based patterns of teacher training. The reduction/exclusion of theory which is 'delivered' in Higher Education institutions has meant that more and more students are spending more and more time in schools on serial and block school experience. The amount of time that BEd and PGCE students have to spend in schools has increased steadily since 1988 while academic preparation for teaching has been confined largely to subject specialist studies of National

¹ Paradoxically, as evaluations of the Licensed Teacher scheme have demonstrated school-based teacher training is financially more costly than traditional schemes.

Curriculum subjects. These changes have made increased demands on schools to accept more students more often and develop systems such as mentoring schemes to facilitate the school-based training.

At one large primary school (school H - 450 pupils) I negotiated with, attempting to gain entry involved me in talks with the headteacher and being given the opportunity to 'sell' my research to the Senior Management Team. At the end of my talk I invited questions from the staff who were present. The deputy headteacher, who was also responsible for student teachers in the school, said that my research was out of the question. This was because each term they had large groups of students in school. The next term, the term I envisaged starting my research, they had twenty two students for five weeks. With almost every teacher being responsible for one or more students in their classes the deputy thought it unrealistic that the school could also cope with a researcher, who like the students, would also place the demands of lesson observation and talking to (interviewing) teachers, onto the school.

The Declining Powers of Local Education Authorities

A continuing determination of successive Tory administrations since 1979 has been, using Margaret Thatcher's words, 'to roll back the State'. This desire has expressed itself in the form of repeated policy initiatives which while paradoxically strengthening and increasing powers of central government has reduced the power and authority of local government. In the domain of education this diminution of local authority control has taken many different forms. The combined effects of recent policies have achieved, for the Tories, their desired result. Local Education Authorities (LEAs) are significantly less influential in the running of schools in their areas as powers, the most significant being delegated financial control in Local Management of Schools (LMS), have been devolved to headteachers and governors. The changed power relationships have produced a new culture in which local authority advisors and administrators rather than controlling budgets and making allocations to schools, compete with other 'providers' in supplying services to the schools. Some of these

local authority officials, particularly in LEAs which prior to 1988 had adopted a bureaucratic, authoritarian and top-down approach to **their** schools, are now to borrow the words of one headteacher 'yesterday's men' (sic) (school E).

The changed culture and shift of power have significance for the researcher wishing to negotiate entry to schools. In the past it was not uncommon for researchers to request entry to a local authority school by directing the request to the Chief Education Officer (CEO) (see for example Hammersley 1984) or LEA advisor. The researcher in these circumstances was granted entry to a potentially suitable setting(s) on the strength of a headteacher receiving a letter from the CEO. With the recent changes this strategy is becoming increasingly difficult. While anticipating the situation and not approaching the CEO I did contact two LEA advisors (recently re-designated as inspectors) to ask if they could give me the names of schools in their areas which conformed to the criteria I had in mind (numbers of children, staff, location etc). The LEA inspectors did give me names of schools I could negotiate with but were reluctant to contact the schools on my behalf or to send a letter of introduction or recommendation. This could represent an acknowledgement of their reduced power and influence with the school and headteachers. They could no longer make demands on schools.. From my perspective I was pleased that in my negotiations with schools that I would not appear to be associated with the local inspectors because in their new inspectorial role as OFSTED registered inspectors (inspecting schools in other divisions of the authority- , inspecting schools in their own area being proscribed) they of course constituted agents of external surveillance, a role as researcher (seeking entry and later access) I did not wish to adopt by association.

Financial Considerations

With the introduction of the market philosophy into education schools have changed dramatically as organisational cultures (Bowe and Ball, 1992). Schools must now consider aspects of management which prior to 1988 would be considered only applicable to the industrial and commercial sectors. With delegated budgets and local financial management

has come the behaviour and discourse of the market place. Large primary schools now have a bursar or financial officer on the payroll (Mortimore et al, 1994) and headteachers of large primaries are being drawn into financial management and away from professional curriculum leadership (Ball, 1988; Hellowell, 1990; Bowe and Ball, 1992; Pollard et al, 1994; Troman 1994). With these changes primary schools now deal routinely with the financial considerations of budgeting, financial planning, auditing, marketing, calculations of effectiveness and efficiency and cost benefit analyses. As it is a requirement of four yearly OFSTED inspection that each primary school demonstrate how its financial management articulates with curriculum management the production of school development plans has become a necessary as well as legal requirement. Financial procedures such as these have forced schools to consider aspects of school life which perhaps were not considered previously, particularly so when coupled with other features of the reforms. For example, now that the initial training of teachers is more school-based and schools submit costed bids for training students, it has become necessary for schools to be able to put a cost on teachers' time, if they are to act as mentors, in order to calculate the costs and benefits of the school taking on a commitment to training students. With this commodification of teachers (Ball, 1990b) it is entirely possible (some would say reasonable) for the school to charge the researcher for the teacher's time or the cost of a supply teacher in order to release a teacher, during the school day, to be interviewed by a researcher. One headteacher (school J) referred to this as the researcher getting 'quality time' (ie. free of interruption and not at the end of a busy teaching day) and of course 'quality time isn't cheap'.

It is of course important that the school continues to attract sufficient age weighted pupil units (children) each one carrying a fixed amount of money according to age and at the end of the school year the books balance and the school avoids financial loss. These financial procedures, market principles and an atmosphere in which schools perhaps not seeking to make a profit but trying to avoid losses creates a culture in which social relations become mediated by the cash nexus. This has implications for research and especially for the negotiation of entry. No headteacher who I negotiated with requested that I pay the school a fee in return for researching the school. This, however, has been the experience of other

researchers (Rudduck and Nixon, 1992). I did feel however in some circumstances if I had offered money entry might have been granted. If schools are going to divert teacher time and resources to assisting researchers in their projects I suspect schools, in the type of financial climate I have described, will become increasingly reluctant to involve themselves in research. Hitherto, educational researchers have always had to rely on the goodwill of teachers in order to research schools. Even so, the research process, including gaining entry, was never free of ethical issues and considerations. Paying for entry will not only materially change the relationships between the researcher, gatekeeper and participants it is likely to raise a new agenda of issues in the ethics of ethnography! It is undoubtedly the recognition of this likelihood that leads funding bodies such as the Economic and Social Research Council to preclude such research practice.

Headteacher Illness, Burnout and Envy

In many schools it is the headteacher who has borne the brunt of many of the recent changes. It is the headteacher who has; shielded and protected the staff from the policy onslaught and frequent changes in policy and external agencies; experienced strategic compliance as they have been forced to conceal personal and collective educational values and adopt imposed ones; experienced role conflict and ambiguity as they tried to fulfil chief executive **and** leading professional roles (Hughes, 1985); been responsible for balancing the books; constantly worried about the efficacy of marketing strategies; in some schools managed change unsupported by a hostile governing body; been largely responsible for unfavourable inspection reports; and in most of these situations coped alone and in isolation from their governors and staffs (Times Educational Supplement 28/10/94, p. 15.).

Such conditions have, however, created casualties. The number of teachers and headteachers who have retired early or are seeking early retirement through ill health has increased alarmingly since 1988 (Mc Cleod and Meikle, 1994). As headteachers are the likely gatekeeper that the researcher will encounter, headteacher stress, illness and burnout may impact on negotiating entry. In the stage of my research when I was trying to identify a

sample of suitable schools to approach I asked an education lecturer in a local college who had considerable experience of local schools if she could recommend some for me to approach. Before making her recommendations she spent quite a time explaining the difficulties in approaching schools in her area owing to headteacher long term sickness, breakdown or because a headteacher was so stressed it was causing difficulties in staff relationships and morale in schools. I had already had experience of this in my 'uninformed' approaches to school. At one school although the headteacher was at work he clearly wasn't well and the deputy was effectively the headteacher. In this case the headteacher (who had been apparently very enthusiastic in his dealings with me) refused entry because of what he described as a 'political' situation in the school (school H). At another school (school E) I was negotiating with a headteacher who spent the whole of the interview slumped in his executive chair with his head rested on one hand staring at his desk. He was half turned away from me and not establishing eye contact or speaking. After fifteen minutes he suddenly broke down and explained to me that the evening before he had resigned at a governor's meeting and would be leaving at the end of term and thought that in these circumstances the school would be unsuitable for my research.

Opportunities for teachers and headteachers to escape albeit briefly from the relentless pace and pressure of change are decreasing. The much needed space, away from the workplace, in which to recharge professional and personal batteries, catch up on ones subject, engage in reflection and renew commitment to the profession is no longer available to many teachers and headteachers (A. Hargreaves, 1994). Secondment and full-time award bearing courses which so often served these purposes in the past are no longer available in the changed financial climate and currently dominant views concerning professional development (ie. it should be school-based and directly linked to school concerns). Non-stipendary teacher fellowships too, which offer a much needed space for professional development away from the chalk face, although still available are receiving fewer and fewer applications as schools become reluctant to sacrifice a member of staff for one term and incur the additional financial burden of paying a supply teacher's salary. (*The Guardian* 4/10/94).

By comparison the researcher receiving a research award for a three year funded research project has the opportunity to follow their own research interests, have time for critical reflection, and all the advantages which are denied to the full-time teacher and headteacher. The headteacher who broke down during interview (school E) considered being paid to do research for three years was a 'luxury' and something he wished he'd had the opportunity to do' (he said this with a cynical tone). This perception is supported by the reaction of a deputy head of an inner-city school in which I had previously worked as a supply teacher. When I told him I was unavailable for supply work because I was now undertaking educational research full-time, he replied (in a sarcastic tone) '.... well I suppose its more relaxing than coming here and teaching our kids'. I know from experience that research is no rest cure but from the teacher and headteacher perspective it may be seen as an attractive alternative, a 'luxury' form of escape from the daily routine and rigours of the classroom and school. Thus, headteacher envy of the researcher seemed yet another factor to consider in the gaining entry process.

The Temporal Phenomenology of the School.²

Stephen Ball (1983) has pointed out that as far as he is aware in existing case studies of the school 'the nature of social life is assumed to be unaffected by the point of the cycle at which the fieldwork occurs' (p.81). This would seem to be a rather serious neglect by sociologists of education.. For even at a commonsense level the time of year a study is conducted would likely affect not only the type of data available but also the availability of participants to provide data. It is well known, for example, that the Autumn term which concludes in December with Christmas celebrations is a notoriously busy term for the primary school. Indeed, prior to negotiating with school K, a primary school advisor warned me halfway through November that I would be wasting my time negotiating entry at this stage in the

² Stephen Ball's [1983] concept.

school year because 'Mary and Joseph will be well out of the stock cupboards by now' Teachers who are faced with the implementation of the National Curriculum and the extra curricular events traditionally arising at Christmas would have little time to devote to an ethnographer keen to engage in observation, formal and informal interviewing.

School philosophies regarding the educational visits of children and the timing of these visits can also affect entry negotiations. One headteacher (school I) in a written communication with me felt that 'we are unable to help you with your research next term. We have many events and happenings during this time, with two classes at college³ and others on a residential visit ,that I feel you would not get the continuity you need'.

It is likely that the timing of traditional events and school visits which occur in some terms more than others have always affected entry negotiations. However, the recent changes regarding assessment and testing in the National Curriculum have compounded these difficulties.

The requirement that schools carry out Standard Assessment Tasks (SATs) with children in Year Two at the end of Key Stage One and with Year Six at the end of Key Stage Two has made significant time demands on primary schools during the spring and summer terms. Large class sizes plus the direction that the teachers conduct individual and small group tests (eg. the Key Stage 1 Reading Test) has meant that schools have had to devise strategies to support teachers who are administering the tests. It is common for instance at Key Stage 1 for the school to hire a supply teacher to teach the class while the regular class teacher withdraws groups for testing. Alternatively, learning support assistants are deployed to

³ An arrangement between some schools and a local college whereby students in initial teacher education teach a visiting class of children [usually in small groups]. The class therefore are out of school with their class teacher for up to two weeks.

occupy and contain a class with 'holding activities' while the teacher conducts the individual or group tests. In some schools (usually the larger primaries) the normally non-teaching headteacher will take the majority of the class or classes for an activity away from the classroom (games and country dancing are popular) while the teachers carry out the tests with groups. In some schools children not being tested in a particular class are split up and join other teachers with their classes for the duration of the group test. Withdrawal of children, for testing, from whole school activities (for example assemblies), allow staff to colonise time not usually their own.

While testing is taking place key personnel are also involved out of school time in the marking, moderation, recording and reporting of pupil achievement. This adds to the intensification of their work and of course makes them unavailable to the researcher during this part of the yearly cycle.

In school H, when negotiating entry with the SMT, it was, I believe, the reaction of the head of infants (the department most affected by National testing) to my research proposal which was instrumental in preventing me from gaining entry. When asked directly by the deputy headteacher if she would mind me being present when the SATs were being carried out, said she definitely would and she thought research under these circumstances would be unthinkable.

The tests although taken by one age group in each Key Stage can, in one way or another, involve nearly the whole school. They affect negotiation of entry, for headteachers readily anticipate the problems associated with these phases in the temporal cycle of the school year and do not welcome adding to them by inviting the presence of an ethnographic fieldworker.

Conclusion.

This article, in focusing on the macro-context of the research experience of unsuccessful attempts to negotiate entry, has attempted to rationalise failure. At the same time it has

avoided too much of the self-doubt and anxiety (although these were felt acutely while engaged in the process of gaining entry) typical of those accounts which reflect solely on the significance of the researcher's self. Although acknowledging the importance of researcher's self, research relations and the micro-context the focus throughout the article has been on the impact of wider social forces on both educational change and entry negotiations. I have identified nine interrelated explanatory factors which seemed to be involved in gatekeeper decisions not to grant me entry to educational settings.

Three further lessons can be gleaned from these fieldwork experiences:

First. The collection, analysis and contextualisation of data in all phases of research, in the case of this research the gaining entry phase, facilitates the production of reflexive accounts. Reflexivity not only contributes rigour to the ethnographic process but is also a prerequisite for the generation of theory. The macro-theorisation of my unsuccessful attempts eventually enabled me to devise strategies which ensured successful entry (this will provide the focus for a further article).

Secondly. I am not trying to suggest, by concentrating on structure and macro-context, that gaining entry is an 'overdetermined' process. Researcher self, agency and micro-context still remain as vital factors in the successful negotiation of entry. I am suggesting, however, that researchers, at least in the context of the English education system, will need to pay attention to the wider context (eg. political, ideological, policy contexts) in their negotiations with educational gatekeepers. This is necessary because researchers, intent on producing school ethnographies, are entering a rapidly changing scene and the impetus for change is largely external to the school. Participants wearied by change are increasingly resistant to the academic researcher. The days are gone when the researcher could effortlessly enter the field, as Erickson (1986) notes, in opposition, 'with only a *tabula rasa* mind carrying only a toothbrush and a hunting knife' (p. 140). Or to put it another way, getting in is getting harder.

Thirdly and finally. The fieldwork research experiences reported in this article have raised a general question about teachers and researchers and the relationship between them.

Theorising from the data and experiences of not gaining entry leads me to conjecture that the reluctance of schools to collaborate with an academic ethnographic researcher could be a yet further indication of the increasing technification of teaching (Apple, 1986). This situation is unfortunate in the extreme for it coincides with a time when researchers working in the critical ethnographic tradition are only just beginning to develop and support collaborative forms of 'educative' research involving coalitions of teachers and researchers (Gitlin et al, 1992; Woods and Wenham, 1993). Headteachers and teachers, deskilled in the sense that they no longer engage in critical reflection on the very measures which disempower them, are the ones most likely to exhibit no entry signs when engaged in negotiations with ethnographers.

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